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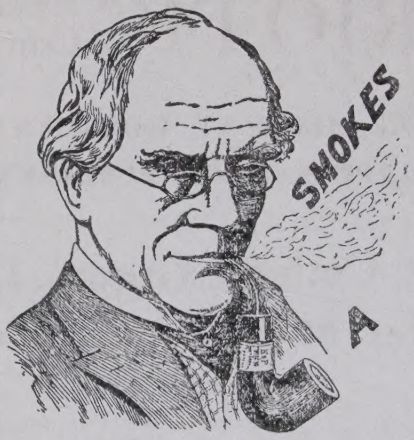

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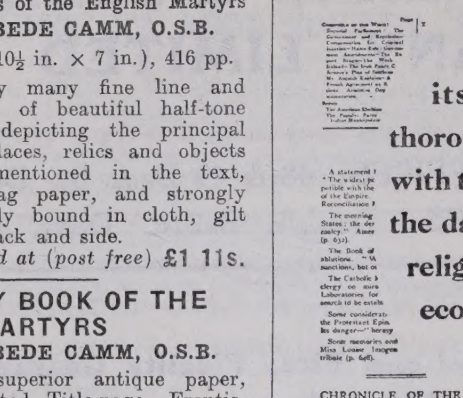

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TWO IRISH PIONEERS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN AMERICA AND AUSTRALIA

BY SHANE LESLIE, M.A.

Editor of the *Dublin Review*.

PETER GUILDAY, PH.D.: *Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore.* (New York: Encyclopedia Press. 1922. $5).

ERIS M. O'BRIEN: *Life and Letters of Archpriest John Joseph Therry.* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson. 1922. 25*s*.).

DR. GUILDAY'S enormous tome of over eight hundred pages is more than a Life of Archbishop Carroll. It is the documented history of the Church in the United States during the period of transition, when it passed from being a despised and persecuted sect in a British Colony to a respected and equally considered Church among the Churches which found themselves lined up under the free and egalitarian conditions of the new Republic.

Maryland was the Catholic parody or counterpart to the Virginia of Protestant adventurers. The sex of Queen Elizabeth as well as her length of reign was unfortunate for the Catholic cause, as she was gradually able to attract and channel much of the devotion English gentlemen and adventurers once felt to the Blessed Virgin. This was no doubt felt and resented by the pioneers of Maryland who established freedom of religion including the Catholic under a sweeter name than that of Queen Bess. With the Orange rebellion Catholic schools became illegal in Maryland, and when Benedict

Lord Baltimore apostatised in 1715 to recover the hereditary government of the colony which his family had founded, the Catholic cup of disaster might seem to be full. Henceforth Catholics had to cross the Atlantic for their education, and what this sacrifice entailed on parents and children appears in the case of John Carroll, who went to St. Omer's at thirteen and only returned to America in his fortieth year—"a careworn man of forty, destitute of fortune and disappointed in the hopes he had formed for the triumphs of religion to be achieved by the Society to which he had pledged his Faith for ever."

John Carroll was of Irish stock, which was not however predominant, for the Carrolls were linked by marriage with Roziers, Youngs, Darnalls, Brents and Sewalls, all English Catholic families which had flocked to the land of Catholic liberty. A Brent became the first Mayor of Washington, and the Carrolls themselves stood out among the Catholics. Charles Carroll of Carrollton was the only Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence and the last survivor of all the signers. He lived to be the First Citizen of the United States, while his cousin John became her first Catholic Bishop. It was a good record for an Irish family, and one which remains written in letters of bronze in the history of the Republic. Not without reason did John Carroll place the thirteen American stars upon his episcopal seal.

Carroll went to St. Omer's and joined the Jesuit Noviciate at Watten. His school and scholastic career has to remain chiefly imaginary or decked with the indisputable platitudes which await all great ecclesiastics in biography. At Liège he joined the English Jesuits and passed to the priesthood shortly before the great Society was suppressed possibly for the temporary good of Papal policy but not for good in God's providence. The date of his ordination has been given as 1759. Dr. Guilday makes it rather appear 1769. One letter survives from the Liège days as well as a journal during his travels

as a tutor in Lord Stourton's family. At Rome they found the suppression of the Society imminent, and a good deal of English influence, including that of the English Cardinal, directed against the Society. "I was astonished beyond measure," wrote Carroll, "when I heard the poor ignorant child, Gastaldi, who hears all the Cardinal York's family discourse, wondering how the orator came to rank Jansenius amongst the sectaries." As the Society sank Jansenism rerose.

On the other hand we learn that "the immediate cause of the suppression of the Irish College was a petition presented by the alumni to return to the Jesuit schools." The Roman authorities at this time could be as ridiculous as Protestants in their suspicions of the unfortunate Society. For instance, Carroll writes: "In the room of the Rector of the English College in Monte Portio was discovered a paper with some lamp black on it which is used to make blacking for shoes. I suppose this was construed to be materials for making ink, and in consequence was carried off and consigned to Cardinal York who, I suppose, is to present it to his Holiness!" The Suppression came as an overwhelming blow to Carroll; "I am not and perhaps never shall be recovered from the shock of this dreadful intelligence. The greatest blessing which I could receive from God would be immediate death."

The American ex-Jesuits received curt word of their downfall from Bishop Challoner (Oct. 6, 1773). Dr. Guilday quotes Canon Burton, saying: "The wise and prudent counsels of the Vicars Apostolic, carried out with *paternal* sympathy, made it easier for the Jesuits to maintain their dignified and edifying attitude." Father Campbell, however, in his recent work, *The Jesuits*, comes to another opinion concerning the same document, which he ironically says "cannot be cited as a manifestation of excessive *paternal* tenderness" (p. 600). The reader must come to his own conclusion as to the epithet.

Carroll might have remained in the literary leisure of an English nobleman's family, but he decided to return to America on a ship which was one of the last to leave before the outbreak of the Revolution.

Dr. Guilday finds himself facing "the paradox of Catholic patriotism from the very beginning of the Revolution and the *No Popery* mob-cry of the first revolutionists." The Revolution had no doubt as sectarian and Protestant an origin as the *coup d'état* of William of Orange.

It was caused in this way. The British Government had practically established the Catholic Church in Canada by the Quebec Act while Protestantism remained practically established in the States. Catholics might certainly seem in a dilemma, especially as the war-cry of the revolutionaries was "No King, No Popery!" According to Boucher, an Episcopalian Minister, Charles Carroll's action "seemed to settle the wavering disposition of the Catholics in Maryland; under so respectable a leader they all became Whigs in declaiming against the misgovernment of Great Britain." Dr. Guilday weighs all evidence and says: "It is not true, as is generally believed by Catholics, that there were no Catholic Tories during the Revolution." Certainly Catholics made themselves comfortable in the Revolution. The arrival of French aid, the assistance of the Catholic Indians, Father Gibault's action in the West and the share of the Irish schoolmasters and exiles soon changed the attitude of the Revolution towards the Church, and thanks to the guidance of the Carrolls the Catholic flock found themselves comfortably anchored to the Republican rock. John Carroll's most prominent act was in accompanying the American Commissioners to Canada on a mission to detach the Canadians from England. Bishop Briand was the absolute ruler of a flock of 150,000 French Catholics and to his fulgurations was due Canada's retention in the British Empire. His theory was that Boston was a

centre of infidel and licentious literature and that any of his spiritual subjects developing the *le coeur Bostonais* deserved to be excommunicated. So many legends have gathered round John Carroll's part in the Revolution, even to his having shared in drafting the Declaration of Independence, that it is well to have Dr. Guilday's final assurance that he "took no active part in the Revolution apart from his invitation by the Continental Congress to accompany the American Commissioners to Quebec. That fact indeed gives him a prominence in Revolutionary Catholic annals shared by none, but all else claimed for him by over-enthusiastic writers is historically untenable." The task chosen for him was peculiarly difficult. He had to explain to the Canadians "the bigotry in the Address to the People of Great Britain, and still more difficult was it to deny the Congress a sublime hypocrisy in stating the opposite opinion in its Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec."

The part taken by the American Catholics in the Revolution was inspired by a motive which neither Quebec Acts on the part of the British Government nor intolerance on the part of the Thirteen States could have affected one way or another. It was the underlying memory of the Irish exile. It is true Carroll's list of American clergy in 1785 is not conspicuous for Irish names, except for Carroll and Neale, the two first Archbishops of Baltimore to come. The clergy hailed from Maryland, England or Germany except Father Ashton, who was born in Ireland. But the penal laws acting in Ireland had filled the New England States as well as Maryland and Pennsylvania with Irish schoolmasters, "and who shall say that it was not through them principally that the Colonies began the work of severance across the Atlantic? Once the conflict with the mother country was seen to be inevitable they taught their pupils to shoot and drill, or acted as clerks and adjutants to the local military companies."

Over the rank and file history is silent, but as they had done their share in ridding the United States of British civil control it was only fair and proper that their superiors should find a way of easing them from the spiritual jurisdiction of the English Vicars Apostolic. The ironical result of their political efforts had been to leave the last and only link of English control in America about their own necks.

Anyhow John Carroll was made Prefect Apostolic, and Cardinal Antonelli announced to the London Vicar Apostolic, Talbot, the end of English ecclesiastical rule in the ex-British colonies. Carroll accepted the onerous office with the patriotic object of keeping a foreigner out. His feeling laid the eventual policy of Rome (though it was one that, owing to the circumstances of immense immigrations, suffered many relapses) that the American Hierarchy should be American-born. The infancy of the American Church was marred by the *vagabundi* and adventurer pastors whom European Bishops were glad to ship into a new Continent, giving them credentials on the supposition that a change of hemisphere would entail an equal change of character. Carroll " was at the mercy of opportunist Bishops across the Atlantic who foisted on the infant Church clergymen who were giving scandal in their dioceses." Small groups made up the Church throughout the country, separated by great distances, with the result that churches began to assume national characters, a difficulty which was to remain with the American Church far into her history and lead to the most considerable conflicts of recent time. The kind of clergy Carroll had to deal with was humorously illustrated by the flamboyant Pastoral which Father de la Poterie issued, " under our hand and the seal of our arms," on being appointed to the Curacy of Boston: " We make known to you, our dearly beloved brethren, the wonderful designs of Divine Providence towards us which by a course of unheard of events has brought us

to this city," etc. Unfortunately, his previous record had also been unheard of, for he turned out in Carroll's words to be " a sad rascal." Dr. Guilday is very moderate in his judgments, and remarks that " he was evidently an early believer in the value of advertising." Not less remarkable types appeared in the heroic priest-prince Gallitzin; Father James Harold, who had been transported to Botany Bay for his share in " Ninety-Eight ;" and the pathetic Franciscan Causse, who toured the country with a circus called " Jerusalem," but who repented and wrote to Carroll, " I would sell my show if I could be reinstated as pastor somewhere."

The spirit of unity could only come with episcopacy and the election of Carroll as first American Bishop. The Brief of Pius VI, *Ex hac apostolicae*, erected Baltimore into episcopal dignity and confirmed Carroll's election. Before Carroll left the country in search of consecration an important exchange of letters had been brought about between the Catholics of America and George Washington.

Carroll unexpectedly decided to go to Lulworth Castle, the home of the Welds, to receive consecration, as he explained to Archbishop Troy : " I received so pressing an invitation from a most respectable Catholic gentleman in England that I unwarily promised to be consecrated in his chapel if the appointment should fall to my lot. Had it been otherwise I should have hesitated between Ireland, the land of my forefathers, and Canada." In this way England had the honour of initiating the American Hierarchy, which was afterwards to be built up by the Irish diaspora. Bishop Walmesley performed the consecration, while the son of Mr. Weld, a recently married youth, held the Missal over his shoulders. Unlikely as it seemed, this youth was the future Cardinal Weld. The account of the service was kept out of the Press, but Coghlan, the Catholic printer, who had already enjoyed the privilege of printing Washington's letter to the American Catholics (which presumably Carroll had

brought over in his pocket), was now insistent to publish an account of the ceremony at Lulworth Castle. Plowden wrote humorously to Carroll: "He has sent me down the Bull to be translated and copied in answer to my letter wherein I had informed him that I could not do it. This is the Irish mode of doing business. Mr. Weld wishes that what was done here on August 15 may not appear in print unless you should desire it."

The Bishops of Cuba and Quebec still had authority in parts of the United States; but Propaganda proceeded to place all under Bishop Carroll. "As the flag of the Republic advanced in the northern and southern parts of the country, Bishop Carroll's authority followed." Not only the Irish but the Catholics had found a flag they could love and serve to death.

The most serious question facing the new Bishop was the supply of priests, for the older men were dying without much chance of replacement. Remote Catholics might or might not see a priest again in their lifetime. Those who wished to remain in touch with the Church had to remain in the greater cities, which was the beginning of the tradition or custom which crowded the Irish immigrants by the hundred thousand into the cities leaving the prairies and plains, which might once have been theirs for the taking, to other peoples. The only exception in days to come was in the Diocese of Dubuque, where a far-sighted Bishop sent his priests into the wilderness to raise up country parishes instead of allowing the congestion which, it is true, has since produced the greatest Catholic metropoles of the world. But the land of America has as a whole remained out of Irish or Catholic hands. Archbishop Ireland had a pioneer's insight into the North-west territories and the opportunities that lay before the Catholic community in later years.

Carroll had a bare fringe of priests to cover his vast jurisdiction until the French Revolution bore the happy but unexpected result of casting French priests of the

highest character and culture on the American shore. "Although the Gallipolis and Oneida schemes for a French bishopric in the new republic failed, in the period immediately following the episcopate of Carroll the six episcopal sees in the United States were ruled by French ecclesiastics who had fled from the chaotic upheaval of their own land during Carroll's time." French settlements died away, leaving astonishingly little mark upon America except in Louisiana. In St. Louis and New Orleans with all the Gallic prestige of their names, it is the Irish and German Catholics who are in evidence to-day. It reads like forgotten history to hear of "the conflict which had arisen between the French and Irish factions" in Boston, whom Carroll by a personal visitation induced to make peace and accept as their pastor the convert New England Minister, Father Thayer. To the French element the Church owed a very valuable factor, the Sulpicians, whose Seminary at Baltimore was Carroll's sole hope of renewing an American priesthood. It is interesting that, when the French Superiors intended to withdraw the Sulpicians, the Seminary was saved by no less than Pope Pius VII, who happened to have travelled to Paris to preside at the coronation of Napoleon, and was able to bid the Seminary be let stand, saying: "It will bear fruit in its own time." During Carroll's episcopate thirty priests were ordained at St. Mary's. Slowly the seed was being sown, and upon minute foundations the Catholic Church of America was beginning to rear pinnacles unseen and invisible as yet. It was Father Dubois, one of the Sulpicians, who opened the School at Emmitsburg, where soon one John Hughes was to be educated, the first of the great modern prelates who foresaw what Catholic expansion would mean and designed his Cathedral in New York with the same vision that we have recently learnt Father Therry showed as Australia's pioneer priest when planning the Cathedral of Sydney.

The dioceses of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and

Bardstown were hewn out of the map leaving Baltimore sway over the Southern States and Carroll the Apostolic Administration of the whole of the Middle West. The new Sees were divided between French and Irish Bishops, Cheverus and Flaget going to Boston and Bardstown; Concanen and Egan being appointed to New York and Philadelphia. Bardstown has ceased to be an ecclesiastical See, but the others have all at times been honoured with the Cardinal's Hat, which would have seemed a wild dream and even a useless possibility to the pioneers putting up their shed churches and travelling from one isolated Catholic family to another. To show how short the period of American growth really was, take the career of Father Kohlmann, the ablest of the Jesuits who came over to America at this date. In the year that New York was made a Bishopric, 1808, he began a classical school on the present site of St. Patrick's colossal Cathedral. Father Kohlmann eventually returned to Rome, and among the pupils he trained at the Gregorian was the future Pope, Leo XIII, who lived until within five years of the centenary of the New York diocese.

But for Carroll and his generation there would have been no centenaries or jubilations. With his generation he had to dig the clogging foundations and smooth the disputes between the few labourers he had under his hand. Of his personal difficulties Dr. Guilday sometimes gives us an idea: "Father Elling, Goetz and Heilbron were leaders of a schism in Philadelphia; Father Felix Gallagher was causing unrest in that old centre of Southern culture, Charleston S.C., and the noisy Reuter was the centre of sad disorder in the ranks of the German Catholics of Baltimore." It is interesting to follow Bishop Flaget into Kentucky, where he wrote that "without money, without a house, without property, almost without acquaintances I found myself in the midst of a diocese two or three times larger than all France, containing five large states and two territories, and myself speaking the

language very imperfectly Add to all this that almost all the Catholics were emigrants, but newly settled and poorly furnished."

And we get glimpses of religious orders starting under the same conditions of travel and poverty. The Ursulines were pursued by corsairs, and their ship struck rock and then mud before they reached New Orleans, where they were to witness Jackson's victory over the British forces. It was in their chapel that the ladies of New Orleans were gathered to pray for the deliverance of their city with such effect that "the same day General Jackson with his staff visited the Ursulines to thank them for their prayers." Later we learn in a note Jackson, as President of the United States, had the rare privilege of entering their cloister. The Trappists had perhaps the hardest ordeal, for we read of what Dr. Guilday calls "the strangest and saddest odyssey in American annals," when the monks built a flat boat and floated down the Ohio to the junction with the Mississippi. In the end they returned to France. But we hear of others making their way to Green River. "They went by wagon and had to cut a road through the forests and the snow-drifts."

Meantime by a providential occurrence the site of Washington had been chosen not only within a short distance of Baltimore but actually near a Catholic centre, for Carroll wrote to tell Fr. Plowden in England that "the district now settled for the future capital of the United States and permanent residence of Congress is on Powtowmack river. The knowledge I have of the country makes me confident it will be either at Georgetown or what would answer better for our school within four miles of it."

So it came that Georgetown College enjoys to-day a premier site among all American Catholic institutions and has preserved the old colonial name in the vicinity of the young triumphant capital of Washington. Carroll seized every opportunity to graft the old religion upon

the new republic and even initiated the Catholic veneration of the dead Washington, which in American life forms a secular parallel to the veneration of the saints. On the day set apart for his first commemoration he directed his clergy to deliver not sermons but orations, " bearing some resemblance to that of St. Ambrose on the death of the young Emperor Valentinian, who was deprived of life before his initiation in our Church, but who had discovered in early age the germ of those extraordinary qualities which expanded themselves in Washington." There was real difficulty in keeping a generation, which had been carried away by their new liberties, in touch with the sober unrelaxing regulations of the Church. Carroll himself was not in favour of severity or asceticism in attracting and guiding youth. He wrote to Plowden in reference to Georgetown College, complaining that the worthy administrators " deter parents from sending their sons thither by some vigorous regulations not calculated for the meridian of America. Their principles are too monastic, and with a laudable view of excluding immorality they deny that liberty which all here will lay claim to. Indeed it is a difficult problem to solve what degree of it should be allowed in literary establishments, and never have I been able to satisfy my mind on this subject. Theory and experience are constantly at variance in this cause."

Carroll's anxieties never ceased. He had to trust to his scattered priests to fit their zeal and abilities to circumstances which were often depressing in the extreme. But often one missionary made up for a handful of the insubordinate. At Fort Vincennes Father Badin worked for a quarter of a century, and " it is estimated that he spent over three-fourths of that time on the saddle travelling at least one hundred thousand miles." Another apostolic Frenchman was Fr. de Clorivière, who had been a leader of the Vendeans with a price on his head. Carroll ordained him at Baltimore and sent him to Charleston where " the two Irish priests, Gallagher and Browne, seem

to have formed a conspiracy to control the Church in the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia." It was the sending of priests like the Harolds and Gallagher to America that has obscured the name of Archbishop Troy in American Catholic history. In fact Dr. Guilday, the most moderate and uncensorious of writers, is fain to confess that "there is hardly a single Irish priest through whom sorrow in some form did not come during these years of reconstruction." They were not bad but insubordinate. There were splendid exceptions, however, like Dr. Matthew Carr, the Irish Augustinian, and Bishop Egan, who wore away his life a martyr to the rights of the Episcopacy in Philadelphia. One can sympathise with the movement to abolish the use of the English "proper" in the United States when "the Irish Clergy refused to celebrate the English Saints." Carroll had many ties with England, but he realised the importance of keeping neutral when a question like that of the Catholic Veto arose. He wrote to Plowden his opinion that the Irish Bishops in his opinion were far superior to the English Bishops in talents, but he did not like to interfere about the Veto, which was a question between the Pope and the Bishops of England and Ireland. "The Pope has a difficult task before him, his obligations to England are great, and though there is no doubt of his making all considerations yield to the dictates of his conscience, yet it will be painful to him to offend a Prince who did so much for his restoration to the chair of St. Peter, especially when so many Catholic clergymen and laity contend that he may lawfully yield the grant requested." Carroll could not feel very grateful to his English friends during the War of 1812 when they attacked and bombarded his episcopal city, and he wrote to Plowden at the beginning of 1815: "The visit of your countrymen last summer to Washington has nearly ruined several of my nearest connections. They came next to this city in their shipping. It was an awful spectacle to behold, before us at

least forty vessels great and small, and for about twenty-six hours fire bomb ketches discharging shots on the forts of upwards 200 lb. weight each. You may suppose we did not sleep much. Heaven preserve us from another such visitation" !

Carroll lived long enough to see the world's peace restored, dying himself a few months after Waterloo. In his last letter to Plowden he wrote reflecting that "the great revolutions which after Napoleon's return began to appear, which are since disclosed, render the times in which we have lived uncommonly eventful and fruitful of serious reflexions."

There was a spirit of indiscipline in the air after the French and American Revolutions had cleared the old world away, which not unnaturally showed itself in the clergy of the day, especially when they were thrown out of their old surroundings and when prophets were promising the speedy decay of State and Church as hitherto known. The suppression of the Jesuits proved an indirect blow at European unity and international civilisation. The lingering remnant of the Order in Maryland formed the bulk of Carroll's legion, but Carroll never encouraged any expectation that the Society would be revived. Nevertheless the holy conspiracy for restoration never ceased working underground. Carroll received word of a partial restoration in England, but also that Fr. Plowden had found a serious difficulty in controlling the Irish novices the leader of whom told the English Superior that they would obey "an Italian, German or even a Turkish Superior, but would never submit to an Englishman" ! However, the Society was truly international, and the American ex-Jesuits were affiliated to the surviving province of White Russia in consideration of Pius VII's celebrated *vivae vocis oraculum*. Just a year before he died Carroll had the happiness of receiving the Bull restoring the Society throughout the world, which he despatched the same night to the Jesuit

Noviciate at Georgetown. At the same time his policy towards the Jesuits during the Interim of the Suppression was strongly criticised, and Dr. Guilday thinks "it is evident that death alone saved Carroll from the misery of an open break with the Jesuit Superior."

Carroll, though originally a Jesuit himself, showed a perfect equanimity towards the different Religious Orders in America. The Dominicans were already playing a considerable part in filling the new sees. Edward Fenwick was the first Bishop of Cincinnati, Dr. Concanen first Bishop of New York, though he died before he could embark. For four years New York remained vacant until another Irish Dominican, Connolly, could be consecrated in his place; but a week after his arrival in America Archbishop Carroll was no more. It is important that the charges made by Shea against Archbishop Troy of Dublin of interfering in the American Sees should be disproved. Dr. O'Daniel, the American Dominican historian, and Dr. Guilday concur in proving that Troy was blameless of any intrigue. Carroll was the champion of American independence in the sense that he would not permit any influences from Europe apart from Rome to be brought to bear on the American Sees. With the death of Bishop Egan, the Irish Franciscan, who became first Bishop of Philadelphia, there was a determined intrigue to place one of the Harolds in his place. The See remained empty, and "Archbishop Carroll passed away before a settlement for Philadelphia was made. Disaster was in the air, and 'the angel of the Church which is in Philadelphia,' must have shielded its face with its wings when Irish meddlers prevailed at Rome, and the man, whose appointment to Philadelphia was more surprising to Archbishop Curtis of Armagh than if he had been made Emperor of China, the Rev. Dr. Conwell of Dungannon, Ireland, arrived in Philadelphia with what result it is unnecessary to mention here. John Carroll had fought all his life long to maintain independence for the Church he governed He died

with the consciousness of failure and defeat." This, of course, is the strictly American view of "American Sees for the American-born."

The only link between Dr. Guilday's Life of Archbishop Carroll and Father Eris O'Brien's Life of the Archpriest Therry is, curiously enough, the Father Harold who was originally transported to Botany Bay as an Irish convict. He was not allowed to say Mass there, and his apostolic career took place on another continent. It was not until Fathers Therry and Connolly reached Australia that the Catholic Church began to open the first faint green shoots on that iron soil. One-third of the convicts were of Irish and Catholic origin and were left to languish without the consolation of religion; but their tears and their blood proved the seed of the Church. Those who refused to attend the Protestant services were liable to lashes and reductions in their food, and it needed a lion like Father Therry to break into the gaols and to insist on their religious rights. On one occasion he boarded a convict ship and was insulted by Major Arney, a Protestant swashbuckler. A magistrate's inquiry showed that "Major Arney said that, were it not for his coat, he would thrash him; it seems also that Mr. Therry said that Major Arney had taken too much wine and that Major Arney replied Mr. Therry was cracked." This was a typical scene of many and often far more strenuous scenes, as when, to reach a convicted prisoner before his execution, Fr. Therry had himself drawn by a rope across a river, which neither horse nor boat could breast. Father Therry had to face both man and nature in his life-struggle, and neither Australian conditions nor browbeating Governors caused him to relent or relinquish his position. When he came under a regular Hierarchy he could not bring himself, on what he considered a point of justice, to yield to his Bishop, and he was suspended canonically by Bishop Willson just as the Governor of New South Wales had suspended him previously as a Government

Chaplain. It is difficult to imagine the amount of toil and disappointment and heartbreak which Father Therry had to endure. "His whole life in New South Wales was a succession of periods sometimes bitter as gall, sometimes replete with hope and consolation." We have a beautiful picture of him praying, as a suspended priest in Tasmania, "morning after morning in the church which he had built, but in which he was not allowed to offer the Holy Sacrifice and how little children would vie with one another to kneel beside the priest whom their parents had told them to love."

The dispute between Bishop Willson and Father Therry was long and little tempered by compromise. Both men were built of stubborn metal, and Dr. Willson proved as great a figure in the history of Tasmania as Father Therry in the annals of Australia. Dean McEnroe laid their differences entirely to racial antipathy, adding, "In my opinion very few Englishmen know how to guide or govern Irishmen whether lay or ecclesiastical." We suggest that what happened in Australia may throw a little explanation on the troubles Archbishop Carroll had with Irish priests in America. In training and culture Carroll was as English as Ullathorne, Polding and the English Benedictines placed in charge of the Australian Church over the heads of Irishmen, who with all their impetuosity and love of independence accomplished the spadework. It is only fair, when Dom Birt, O.S.B., in his *Benedictine Pioneers in Australia* sums up the Australian mission in the words "when the monks had done their work the secular clergy stepped in," to point out with Father Eris O'Brien that "the priest who planted the tree of the Catholic Faith in Australasia and who protected and cared for it almost single-handed for ten years was a secular priest, John Joseph Therry." Suspended and misused as he was, we gladly and admiringly trace in him the noble traits of his race and even those half-faults, which in their vivid and human

setting only underscore the personality of a saint. Zeal, courage, indomitable will, scorn of comfort, imaginative insight into the convict, foresight into the future of Australia, physical endurance, and the lonely championship of his religion mark Father Therry as the last and not least of the wandering clerics of the Gael, who went out into the dark corners of the world and lit fires which centuries cannot quench. It is no doubt a strange moral to reflect on the hundreds of priests and even bishops who with all the choicest gifts and circumstances in their favour have passed into honoured oblivion, while the struggles and mistakes, sufferings and heroisms of this hard-pressed Irish priest write in themselves the first chapter of the Church on a new Continent.

It remains to say that the reproduction of archival documents gives Father O'Brien's work a peculiar distinction. Dr. Guilday's work is more comprehensive and involving industrious research in the European Archives affords the final word for all time concerning Archbishop Carroll. Father O'Brien has shown far more selection in the use of documents, but we feel that the Archives in Rome would probably throw an interesting cross-light on the fascinating hero of his book. Whatever matter is forthcoming from Colonial or Benedictine or Roman sources in the future can only supplement a Biography which places Father O'Brien high amongst Church historians. We can offer him no higher praise than to say that his work stands worthily on the shelf beside Dr. Guilday's. Not in vain was the work of those Irish apostles, Carroll and Therry; for not only has their sound gone out into all corners of the earth but their historical and literary echo returns to the land of their origin from metropolitan Sees so far apart as Sydney and Baltimore.

SHANE LESLIE.

A PROPHET OF REACTION: CHARLES MAURRAS

BY DENIS GWYNN

I.—His Case against Democracy

THE French Academy is just now confronted with a curiously interesting candidature for the chair left vacant by the death of M. Paul Deschanel. The late President of the Republic himself succeeded to the chair left vacant by a celebrated royalist writer, and now M. Charles Maurras, editor of the royalist newspaper, *L'Action Française*, whose personal genius has all but created the formidable nationalist revival in France during the past twenty years, has decided to present his name for election to the Academy. It is usual in such elections for a candidate to submit his claims only when a vacancy arises through the death of some one who worked on lines more or less similar to his own. M. Maurras presents himself boldly in a paradoxical spirit. "I have devoted my whole life," he declares, "to trying to show my countrymen that they will never find salvation from the evils and the perils that surround them, except by finally and completely repudiating the Republic. Is it not possible that the Academy, which replaced the royalist Hervé by the future President of the Republic may in a similar mood find it fitting to replace M. Deschanel by one whose mission in life has been to strive for the restoration of France's hereditary rulers?" The prestige of M. Maurras in contemporary France is such that the public, which follows these elections to the Academy with the closest interest, has accepted the suggestion in the spirit in which it was offered. His candidature

has been welcomed by people of all shades of opinion. He has had an extraordinarily good press, and the decision of M. Gustave Théry, editor of the Liberal *Oeuvre* and the bitterest opponent of the *Action Française*, to present himself as a rival journalist for the honour of admission to the Academy, has only served to increase the general respect which M. Maurras commands. The contrast, in relation to an institution of such dignity as the Academy, is overwhelmingly in favour of the royalist. M. Théry is simply a clever demagogic leader-writer, whereas M. Maurras has never worked for any master but the forlorn Duc d'Orleans, for whom he has even succeeded, by herculean efforts of loyalty, in arousing a certain amount of enthusiasm, as " the heir to the forty kings who in a thousand years made France."

No one has ever questioned the disinterested patriotism of M. Maurras. What is more remarkable is that in the elections to the Academy, where the voting is usually divided sharply between the parties of the Right and of the Left (with nowadays a majority of about two to one on the Right), he can count on support from both parties. He can surely count, for instance, even on the High Prophet of the young French Communists, M. Anatole France, for M. France has never disguised his admiration for Maurras. Three years ago there appeared in a review called *Le Feu* an astonishing collection of tributes to M. Maurras, which have since been republished in book form, and on the first page of this series of poems, articles and epigrams compiled in homage to his genius, there is printed a sonnet specially written by M. Anatole France. After such a chorus of praise the honour of admission even to the Academy might almost seem to be superfluous. M. Maurras presents his claims primarily as a political journalist. But many of the most distinguished Frenchmen and women of his time have not spared their praise of him in different capacities. In the volume to which I have alluded, he

is acclaimed in turn as a politician, as a leader, as a man of letters, as a journalist, as a traveller, as a poet, as a friend, as a critic, as a philosopher, and not least as a great son of his native Provence. On his mother's as well as his father's side he is descended from old provençal families, and it was in a Catholic college at Aix that he received his education. But though his upbringing was Catholic, though all his deepest instincts as a French nationalist are inseparably and clearly connected in his own mind with the traditions of the Catholic Church in France, and though he never fails to pay tribute to its influence in the past in forming France's greatness and to its potential influence in France's regeneration, he has remained an avowed freethinker since he left his school-days behind for Paris and entered journalism.

Beginning as an essayist and critic, who wrote largely of his travels in Italy and in Greece, he was caught into the furious controversies that raged round the Dreyfus case, and thereafter became definitely absorbed into political journalism. With Barrès and a group of rising nationalists he helped to found the Ligue de la Patrie Française, and not long afterwards collaborated with Vaugeois, Pujo, and Montesquiou in founding, in 1899, the *Revue d'Action Française*. The review before long became a fortnightly publication. When it was first founded Maurras was the only royalist among the editorial staff, except for M. Jacques Bainville—now foreign editor of the daily newspaper into which it has since developed, and then barely more than a boy, whose theses for his university degree in history had attracted attention by their ripe scholarship and their cogency of thought. With his marvellous persistency in propaganda, Maurras set out to undertake an inquiry among many of the most representative Frenchmen of his time to ascertain their views on the restoration of the monarchy. Himself the son of an old professional family of no special distinction, he has formed his own conviction of the

necessity of a royalist restoration, by sheer logical deduction and by his close observation of French politics. His *Enquête sur la Monarchie*, which spread out over some ten years, covered every conceivable aspect of the question and discussed all the arguments for and against both monarchy and republic with an encyclopædic thoroughness that won him recognition as a political student of extraordinary force and learning. One by one he made converts among those whose interest he had enlisted in this inquiry. His first convert was Henri Vaugeois, the director of the *Action Française*. Before long the whole group who constituted its staff were won over to the cause of the Duc d'Orleans, and in 1908 the *Action Française* became a daily newspaper, largely through the energy and determination of M. Léon Daudet, now royalist deputy for Paris. For the past fourteen years M. Maurras has contributed to it at least one column—frequently three or four columns—of commentary on political events day after day. In addition to this prodigious output in daily and periodical journalism he has already published some twenty volumes, ranging from foreign politics to pure literary criticism.

In all his ideas M. Maurras is inspired by one dominating principle—the passion for form, for order, for continuity, whether in art or in politics. It is this passion for design, this sense of discipline, this impatience with anything that tends towards chaos and anarchy, that makes him unsparing in his denunciations of the romantic movement in French literature after the revolution, and that makes him rage against the ineptitudes and the general drift towards catastrophe which have characterised democratic government in France. He was born with a passion for order, as vehement as that of Jean Jacques Rousseau for liberty ; and his whole system of philosophy rests upon a denial of the fundamental assumptions of the *Contrat Social*. Maurras denies flatly that man is born either free or equal. His passionate contradiction

of the first principles of individualism is inspired no less by an intellectual abhorrence of anarchy than by a century's experience of the disorders that individualism in politics has let loose upon European civilisation. Writing as an unrepentant agnostic he says :—

> The real origin of all contemporary errors in philosophy and in politics is Protestantism. The régime of the supremacy of the individual and of personal freedom of interpretation, under which we are all falling into decay, is entirely due to it ; and when, for the Reason which judges by fixed principles and by eternal laws, it substitutes private judgment which makes its decisions under the influence of the imagination, of the emotions, the caprices, the passions, the temperament of each individual, it incurs absolute responsibility for all our evils.

Such is the basis of M. Maurras' general system of ideas. Few men in any country have had so profound an influence on the thought of their own time, and it may even be that the name of Maurras will become as famous in the history of political philosophy, as the prophet of reaction against individualism, as Rousseau has become as the chief prophet of its virtues. At least he takes his place already, whether or not the Academy admits him to sit under the Cupola, as one of the most vital forces in political philosophy in Europe. As the first critic of democracy in Europe, his philosophy has many points of interest for Ireland in the new era. M. Maurras has now been expounding the same political philosophy consistently for thirty years. The war has not changed any of his opinions, and it has undoubtedly given him numberless new illustrations of the incompetence and the inefficacy of democratic government. " Democracy is evil, democracy is death," he wrote in his famous *Enquête sur la Monarchie*, before even the present century had dawned ; and he writes now in a terse footnote to the same aphorism : " This assertion is verified by our 1,500,000 dead in the war of 1914-18."

His fundamental case against democracy is that it is based upon the principles of liberalism, which can only lead

to chaos in their practical application as well as in philosophy. In an article in the *Gazette de France* in 1905 he wrote :—

> To be absolutely clear I will say that it is because of our devotion to real liberty that we entirely repudiate all liberalism ; just as it is from respect for, and love of, the people that we will have nothing to say to democracy.

Postulating that liberalism is that theory of politics which treats liberty as the fundamental principle upon which all practical organisation must be modelled and by which all questions of human rights must be judged, he declares that " liberalism in actual fact kills all liberties. Liberalism is simply the same as despotism." He tests the theory. The one thing that liberalism cannot tolerate, obviously, is any repudiation of liberty itself. To give up one's personal liberty is, by any liberal philosopher's standards, to lose one's human dignity. But the liberals find themselves confronted at once with this very question. What are they to do about the religious orders, about monastic vows ? M. Renouvier and M. Buisson faced the situation squarely, and logically decreed the suppression of the religious orders in the name of this very principle of liberty. Who was right ? If we accept the doctrines of liberalism we cannot but agree with the policy of stamping out the religious orders as immoral organisations. Similarly, the same dilemma arises when a liberal government has to deal with economic questions. No organisation that interferes with the liberty of the individual should be tolerated, if the liberal principles are accepted. No matter if it is a millionaire entirely free to choose among ten thousand hungry workmen—their liberty to accept, and his liberty to offer, whatever wages they may agree upon between them is guaranteed by the fundamental principles of liberal philosophy.

In the political sphere the dilemma is no less apparent. Liberalism accepts as fundamental Rousseau's maxim, incorporated in the first article of the *Declaration des*

Droits de l'Homme, that " man is born free." M. Maurras challenges the statement at once. Rousseau himself admits that men must live in a society of some sort, and proceeds to frame a theory that each member of the social organisation is born with an equal right to decide its politics. The majority of these individual voices constitutes a " general will," which is to be treated with all the obedience due to supreme authority. What are the effects, in practice, of this theory of politics ? First, says M. Maurras, as all history shows, this riot of individualism weakens the individuals themselves. Secondly, it establishes a tyranny by the majority over those who think differently from them—as is the case in modern America—thereby destroying the last vestiges of real liberty. Thirdly, in its extreme form—as in Bolshevik Russia—this theory of liberalism in politics becomes sheer anarchy, repudiating the claims alike of the State and of the mother-country, until the " free " individual who has already been more or less demoralised and terrorised by a liberal system can no longer count upon either his right to walk the streets without being assassinated by anarchists or upon his liberties as a citizen of a particular country. So much for liberalism.

His main preoccupation, however, has been to expose the fallacies of democracy—whether it be a system of complete social and political equality, or no more than a combination of ideas and a body of institutions or laws which tend either in that direction or towards majority rule. " We exclude all democracy under any one of these forms," he declares, " because of our respect for and our love of the people." The principle of majority rule, he goes on, must be repudiated as being " ridiculous in its origin, incompetent in practice, and pernicious in its effects." The word *principle* has to be italicised because he wishes to make it clear that the democratic principle is often upheld in this sense when it is really being defended for something other than it is—as for

instance, by saying that a democratic monarchy is desirable or a christianised democracy; such arguments being in themselves an admission of disbelief in democracy since they rely upon the presence of some controlling force, either monarchical or religious.

> We have too much regard for the people [writes M. Maurras] to go out and tell them that questions which concern a very large number of individuals, but which require long years of study of experience or of thought for their solution, can be settled by merely counting the votes of those who are incompetent to deal with such matters at all; or to say that we need only collect and add up the votes of the first people we meet to succeed in selecting where selection is most difficult. We care too much for the people to fool them with such phrases. Love of the people and respect for them does allow us to propose that the conduct of local and professional affairs, with which they are fully competent to deal, should be in their hands. But the same feeling towards them compels us to withhold from the people the general interests of the French nation, since those interests are far too complicated to be equally and clearly within the understanding of all alike.

Government by majority rule, he declares, leads inevitably towards disorganisation. Inevitably it destroys everything that puts restraint upon it or differs from it—whether it be religion, or family life, traditions, class distinctions, organisations of any kind. "Democracy rots everything," exclaims M. Maurras, "that is what we tell the people, for we know it to be true. To tell them anything that would disguise the intensity of our hatred for this utterly fallacious principle of majority rule would be to abuse the confidence they place in us. It would be treachery to them and a degradation to ourselves." No such thing as social equality exists anywhere in the modern world, least of all in France, after its centuries of ceaseless political, civil, military and economic activity, which has inevitably produced insuperable divisions of class that have never yet been abolished. The conditions for a temporary democratic state may have existed more or less among the first American colonists when they landed on virgin soil with

nothing but their memories to remind them of social distinctions. But even in Roosevelt's time it had become clear that the President of the United States—in his own case, born of the most exclusive aristocracy of America—was not the servant but the master of the "democracy."

The fundamental axiom of democracy, that takes the individual citizen as the starting point for all political organisation, is, in his eyes, sheer insanity. The *Patrie* is a definite organism, a living coherent thing, "and no conceivable system can be made up out of anything other than elements of a like nature to its own, and only out of such as are less than itself. A society can no more be broken up into the individuals that compose it than a geometrical surface can be broken up into straight lines, or a straight line into points." And again :—

> What I look for from the State is the sovereign guarantee of my own individual existence, the independence of my country, the free use of my own language, the preservation of my country's customs and traditions. In comparison with these primal, these organic, vital rights which are anterior to all others (which the State alone can secure to me) the petty individual liberties are of no more importance than are manicuring and hairdressing in relation to the normal health of one's stomach and heart and digestion.

The gist of this criticism of democracy found eloquent expression more than thirty years ago in a trenchant passage of Fustel de Coulanges. There are probably ten times as many people now in France as there were then—there are certainly ten times as many among the "intellectuals"—who would agree with its vehement repudiation of the dogmas that have been more or less generally accepted throughout Europe since the French Revolution.

> Imagine [he wrote] a whole people taken up with political discussions, and from the highest citizen to the lowest, from the most enlightened to the most ignorant, from those who were most deeply concerned in preserving the existing order to those who were most deeply concerned in undermining it, all alike obsessed by the

mania for discussing public affairs and for taking a hand in the business of government. Watch the effects that this disease produces upon the existence of thousands of human beings. Estimate the disquietude that it brings into every individual life, the false ideas that it instils into a multitude of minds, the perverted feelings and the passionate hatreds that it inspires in a multitude of souls. Reckon up the time lost to work, the arguments, the waste of energy, the ruin of friendships or the creation of fictitious friendships which are born of hatred, the delations, the destruction of loyalty, of security, even of common civility, the introduction of bad taste into language, into style, into art, the irreparable disruption of society, the insubordination, the indiscipline, the demoralisation and the weakness of a people, the defects which are their inevitable results, the disappearance of real patriotism, and even of real courage, the faults that each party must commit in turn according as it comes to power in conditions that are always similar, the disasters and the cost which must be paid for them. Consider all these things, and who can deny that this sort of malady is the most pernicious and the most disastrous epidemic that could possibly fall upon a people ? That there is none which inflicts more frightful injuries upon private and public life, on material and moral existence, on conscience and upon intellect ; in fact that no despotism that ever existed in the world could ever possibly have done so much mischief ?

Such is the case against democracy, as M. Maurras sees it. But the attack on democracy which he and his ever-increasing band of disciples have urged so consistently and with so much passion for more than thirty years is inspired by much more than exasperation at an intellectual error. His definite complaints against democracy are threefold. He insists that it has demoralised and divided the national unity of France ; that it has made of the democratic State a god which has become a despotism that continually infringes upon individual liberty ; and, worst of all, it has broken down the ramparts of the national unity against its foreign enemies, both from within and from without. By its foreign policy it has left France at the mercy of the invader on the other side of the Rhine. By its senseless cult of equality in citizenship it has allowed the internal administration

of the government to pass into the hands of strangers who have their own ends to pursue—to naturalised foreigners, to Jews, to Freemasons, whose personal and national objects may be, and in some cases are, diametrically opposed to the national traditions of France.

Democracy means government by parties, and M. Maurras contends that party government must inevitably be the antithesis of national government. Parties will always exist in any country with a long and vivid history, still more when its people live in such varied surroundings and conditions as exist in France. And in France this tendency towards parties is made all the more active because of "our sublime and dangerous gift of discussing the questions on which we differ in the light of the eternal verities." All the more reason, therefore, for taking every possible precaution to mitigate this tendency by reinforcing the hereditary principle, which rises above party considerations and which considers only the national tradition confided to its trust. Yet France, instead of treating parties as evil, has actually invited them to direct her destinies. "What should be repressed by the law is placed above the law and given the power to administer the law." The sovereign authority of the State, its highest dignities, are entrusted by the law itself to those who are most active in competing for the spoils. All sense of permanence is lost. Authority becomes a matter of voting for those who are most clever at playing upon individual interests against the national interest that unites them all.

Even when one party has succeeded in gaining a large majority and can count upon a comparatively long term of security (and in France the average duration of a government is barely twelve months: there have been thirty-seven different governments, each involving a complete dislocation of the political machine, since February 1892, and twelve since June 1914); even in such a situation as exists in the present Parliament,

elected with a huge majority after the war, its policy is crippled by the fear of provoking a reaction against itself if it does anything that, in any direction, may play into the hands of its enemies, whether of the Right or of the Left. Government by parties is government, not by the whole nation, nor even by any one party, but by the Highest Common Factor of all parties. M. Maurras uses a simple diagram to express his thought. Hereditary government he sees as government by the sum total of all the interests in the country from A to Z; party government is government by the margin of difference between the sum of opposing forces. Their comparative strength may be expressed in one case as $a+b+c+\ldots.+x+y+z$; in the other as $a+b+c+d+\ldots.-w-x-y-z$.

In practice, what has this inherent weakness of democratic government meant to France? Day after day in the *Action Française* M. Maurras fills columns of newspaper print with denunciations of the feebleness, of the perversity, of the ignorance shown by successive governments. Before the war he was commenting day after day upon the "abominable" internal dissensions that had been let loose under the Republic, and crying out against the danger that this disunity and neglect of national interests involved in the presence of a hostile Germany which was preparing to invade France from across the Rhine, for the fourth time since the Revolution of 1789. The war has at least put an end to the persecution of the Catholic Church in France; it has led to the reinstatement of the best soldiers in the French army who had been ostracised because they were suspected of Catholic sympathies or because they definitely refused to take part in the military occupation of buildings belonging to the Church or to the religious orders; it has brought back diplomatic relations with the Vatican; but the politicians are still either too much enslaved by their own pasts or too much afraid of provoking a revival

of anticlericalism, to permit the teaching orders to reopen their schools. But while the war has more or less healed the internal divisions of the nation by the "Union Sacrée," the government, especially under M. Briand, has shown itself devoid of any clear ideas of policy. If M. Poincaré has superseded M. Briand, bringing some sort of decision and dignity and knowledge to take the place of the former continual vacillations of ignorance and party intrigue, it is largely owing to the pressure of that non-party public opinion which believes by its traditional instincts very much what M. Maurras expresses with so much logical argument and eloquence. There can be few publicists in all Europe who have had their consistent political predictions so literally fulfilled or who have been able to go on year after year expounding without modification the same set of principles, diagnosing the same maladies and prescribing the same remedy both for the internal and the external ills of their country.

For, alike in internal and external politics, M. Maurras finds the same cause at work—the absence of any principle of authority, of the essential element of continuity in government. The Revolution of 1789 broke down the monarchic constitution. Napoleon, determined to establish a new dynasty which had no roots in France, deliberately undermined all the stable institutions that had survived the revolution. His famous letter to the King of Naples,—"establish the Code Civil at Naples. Everything that does not depend upon you personally shall be destroyed,"—shows the guiding motive of Napoleon's policy. The Church, the Family, the Schools and Universities, the Trades, Local Government, all were reorganised on a basis that swept away all that belonged to France's traditional past. But this wholesale destruction of the old régime was itself only the first phase of that progressive disintegration which France has undergone. French citizens found themselves left without any support against the new omnipotence of the State, and,

what was worse, they "found to their pain and astonishment that they had been defeated and dispossessed in their own country by people who either were strangers to it or were all but foreigners."

The Jews [continues M. Maurras] had been emancipated, the Protestants who had been driven out in 1685 had been invited back, and after a century spent abroad they had lost many of the national characteristics of Frenchmen. More than that, the satellites[1] had been called in, flattered and exalted. This whole world of political immigrants formed itself into little groups and shady coteries which allied themselves with Freemasonry and became part of it, as though it had a special mission to introduce and to acclimatise newcomers. In short, these new groupings were as strongly organised as our own Society was weak. Vagrants who passed unobserved in their caravanserai found no difficulty in living their own morality without molestation from our laws. They were free to become as distinctly communal in their habits as we were committed to being individualistic ourselves. Working always in groups, their advance guards were able to attack us on every field—in politics, in literature, in art, in small skirmishes in which our own, by being disunited, were always defeated. That these immigrant elements were inferior in quality to the French themselves was without doubt, but their system of working together gave them discipline and, thereby, a certain strength of numbers. And so, while we were suffering disintegration, there came into being an international combination of forces in public life, around which the party crystallised which was subsequently to obtain control of the State. Deprived of its supreme authority, and already weakened by the first results of party government, it was unable to put up serious resistance. The French State scarcely needed conquering. The foreigner, operating within the State itself, knew how to buy all he wanted. The Jewish State, which is the real core of the old republican party, able to protect itself by its fixity of purpose, its wealth, its hereditary and religious organisation, working in conjunction with its three allies, the forces of Masonry, of Protestantism, and of the metèques, succeeds in placing its trusted servants at every pivotal point in the administration. Its own organisation, being kept intact, takes advantage of the centralised system to enforce its wishes unseen. It distributes

[1] It is impossible to translate the word "metèque" which was coined by M. Maurras and has since passed into the permanent political vocabulary of France.

the positions of authority; it organises the elections. It controls and directs the entire politics of France.

A clearly perceptible rhythm has for forty years regulated the pace of events. At every important crisis, it discloses itself in its essential and invariable form as hostile to the Church and hostile to the army. Anti-military and anti-catholic. . . . It is unmistakably determined at once to deprive us of our intellectual and our moral traditions, and to leave us exposed to the attacks of our enemies. It systematically reduces our military strength, sometimes by laws which cut down our armaments (1889, 1905), sometimes by the concerted operation of administrative intrigues and press campaigns; but the result cannot be disguised.

This is not the place to discuss French foreign policy, and I must be excused for quoting so detailed a passage relating to the internal politics of France. But it summarises fairly completely the practical aspects of the case against democracy as set forth by M. Maurras from day to day in the newspaper to which he has devoted his political genius. The case against democracy for France, if we accept the theories and the mass of evidence in support of them which M. Maurras has tried to impress upon his generation, is simply this—that democracy in itself is like the tower of Babel, and that those who persuaded France to accept democracy and who played upon the vanity of the masses after destroying the hereditary government of the country, were inspired by doctrines that in themselves could only lead to anarchy and that have been exploited by the enemies of France working both within and without. Whatever their intentions may have been, it can scarcely be denied that the active minorities to whom M. Maurras refers—the Jews, with their patriarchal and national traditions carried into politics and into finance; the Huguenots, with their sense of isolation in a country that is overwhelmingly Catholic and with the memory of the St. Bartholomew massacres continually rekindled and kept alive by their ministers of religion, with their intellectual traditions of individualism and challenge to authority constantly at

variance with the prevalent atmosphere of Catholic France; and, no less important, the miscellaneous alien influences which have worked their way into high positions throughout the Republic, political upstarts and intriguers, financiers and adventurers from the Balkans and the Middle East, from the Americas, from Central Europe; all these extraneous forces have between them attained such a degree of real authority in the Republic that in no field of action can the traditional policy or customs of France now be maintained without encountering formidable opposition.

To take only a few instances—the Protestants and the Jews between them have been the real authors of the agitation for divorce, the concession of which has had an incalculably profound influence upon French social life, and has gone far already to destroy the old traditions which made the family the most deeply rooted institution in France. Similarly, in the feminist movement, which even still commands an almost negligible following, but which is undoubtedly on the way towards achieving the suffragist programme, all the most outstanding figures have been French Protestant women, while next to them, the most important have been Jewesses. In education the same influences have been at work, with astonishing success, until the Protestants and Jews between them hold an extraordinarily large number of the most important professorships and other high positions connected with education and the arts. Their intellectual influence has naturally tended in every case towards a repudiation of France's national tradition. In finance, above all, the alien elements—and especially the Jewish elements—drawn from every part of Europe, have amassed an overwhelming weight of influence that is inspired by ideals that are obviously not those of traditional France. In politics also, the same "liberal" training, which is so alien to French tradition, and in practice works invariably towards its dissolution, incidentally produces

a mentality that understands democratic leadership, Both chambers of the French Parliament have for years past contained Protestant or Jewish deputies and senators in numbers out of all proportion to their numerical strength in the country. The fact is beyond dispute.

M. Maurras appeals to a sentiment that is easily roused in any country when he declares that the Republic has handed over the country to outsiders, and through them, to the enemies of France. Democracy has in fact produced exactly similar results in every country where it has become established. It has everywhere destroyed national government and handed over all real control to international finance. No one who has watched the workings of a general election in England would seriously assert that the result ever bears any recognisable relation to popular government. The whole business is planned and carried out by the party machines. They alone decide the issues upon which the election is to be contested. They select the candidates. And once elected, the successful candidates have scarcely more control over real policy than had the electors who sent them to Parliament because they knew how to make popular speeches. The whole system works mysteriously and in secret, with all real control residing solely in the hands of those who created the machine and pay for its upkeep. What M. Maurras complains of in France exists already in a far more highly developed form in England and in the United States, with this difference, that democracy accords with the mentality of protestant countries, while the general tendencies of international liberalism are at all times opposed to the traditional policies of any Catholic country. It is already consolidating its newly won position in Germany and in Austria. It exists in its most intense form in Soviet Russia. Everywhere democracy means in practice taking real power out of the hands of the people themselves, who had at least created the system of government that the revolution overthrows, and

handing them over to a combination of political forces dominated by international finance and inspired by the ideals of liberalism. The democratic movement has done this everywhere in the past 150 years, and its tendencies invariably find their most unrestricted scope under a Republic. The downfall of all the old dynasties in Europe within the past five years is only the political expression of the process of disintegration that is everywhere at work. "Democracy is evil," declares M. Maurras, "democracy is death"; whether it be in France or in any other country.

There is so much obvious truth in his theories, so much obvious evidence of rapid social and economic collapse in all democratic countries at the present time, that it is well worth while for Irishmen to consider how much of his criticism is applicable to Ireland. No doubt he would at once diagnose the familiar causes of anarchy in Ireland, but what of the remedy? For France M. Maurras has one remedy alone—"reaction to the furthest limits." But France was a free country before she embraced democracy. If she abandons it, she can revert to the "monarchy which made France." What of Ireland? Does no conceivable form of democracy carry in it the elements of stability? Can no way be found by which some principle greater than that of democracy itself may be established which would supply the standards of conduct and provide checks upon those extravagances of individualism, and upon those abuses of party government, by which France under the Republic has sunk to the position of a second-rate power, still rapidly declining? Uncompromising opponent of democracy that he is, I believe that M. Maurras would not find much difficulty in pointing out certain saving principles which, if they were properly safeguarded, could make democracy stable in Ireland.

DENIS GWYNN.

THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY

BY LAMBERT M'KENNA, S.J., M.A.

MOST observers of the Socialist movement, had they been questioned in 1914, would probably have named Hungary as one of the countries in which any extreme form of Socialism was least likely to be established. Its inhabitants were predominantly agricultural, were sober-minded, very conservative in character, and devoted to their religious beliefs. There was not much very acute distress anywhere, not even in the industrial centres; the agitation of the Social-Democrats caused less stir in the country than was caused by differences of race, religion and political ideals. How then did Bolshevism arise in Hungary?

The Hungarians themselves have no manner of doubt as to the answer; it was the work of the Jews, they say. The Jews, on the other hand, point to the undeniable fact that they suffered proportionately more than any other race from Bela Kun's wild experiment.

The history—and the explanation—of the Bolshevik Revolution in Hungary, though not well known in Western Europe, is very well authenticated,[1] and throws valuable light not merely on the Jewish question (an important

[1] *Die Proletarierdiktatur in Ungarn.* Von Karl Huszar (Regensburg, 1920); *Bilder aus dem Kommunistischen Ungarn.* Von Hans Eisele (Innsbruck, 1920); *Aktenstücke aus dem Archiv Ungarischer Gerichtshöfe über die Prozesse einiger Kommunisten,* 1919-20 (Budapest); *La Dictature du Prolétariat.* Par Armand Lebrun (Paris, 1920); *Quand Israel est Roi.* Par Jean et Jérome Tharaud (Paris, 1920); *Etudes,* Nov., 1920-Jan., 1921; *International Review,* Nov., 1919, etc.; *Contemporary Review,* May, 1920, etc.

one for all Europe), but on the vital question as to the conditions under which the stability of our common Christian civilisation may be assured.

Long before 1848 a considerable number of Jews were established in Hungary, where they enjoyed a more favourable position than in the surrounding countries. Owing to their administrative and business capacities, they were generally chosen as stewards of the magnates' households and estates, while in the villages, as innkeepers and money-lenders, they commonly possessed great power over the serfs and peasants. The 1848 Revolution strengthened their position very considerably. Many of the smaller gentry were hard hit by the laws which took from them land to be distributed among the newly emancipated serfs. By securing mortgages on these encumbered estates, as also on the estates of the spendthrift magnates, many of the Jewish money-lenders became very wealthy, and even acquired much landed property. Generally, however, these men did not settle down themselves as farmers. They, or their children, mostly went to Budapest and applied themselves to financial, commercial and industrial enterprise. This was the first big "push" of that Jewish invasion which proceeded, slowly at first—thirty years ago there were in all Hungary only 200,000 Jews—but afterwards increased rapidly in volume. In Hungary, as in most other countries, the Jew never works at a laborious or productive trade. He buys and sells—anything and everything from rags to jewels, but, above all, money, coins, or money-tokens, bills of exchange, mortgages, etc. In Hungary, however, to a greater extent than in other countries, the Jew has been successful in organising industrial and distributive enterprises, a fact due mostly to the absence of competition, the Magyars being constitutionally averse to trade.

Consequently at the outbreak of the Great War every single banking establishment in Hungary was completely

in Jewish hands. The same was the case, too, with the greater part of small-scale commerce, and with almost the whole of large-scale manufacture and business, the owners, directors, technical experts, and salaried officials being Jewish, the workfolk being Magyar or Slav. As for the press, all the influential daily papers and most of the weeklies, magazines and reviews were owned and written by them. Of the many factions into which the Hungarian people was split by differences of race, religion, political ideals, and social views, hardly one had a paper in its own hands; nearly all allowed their journalism to be done for them by Jews.[1]

They had also acquired a large control of the liberal professions, especially medicine and teaching.[2] The Budapest University was fully half Jewish in its personnel.

Thus in Hungary, differently from every other country of Europe, the middle class was of a foreign nationality having little sympathy with the spiritual ideals of the country. Moreover, though possessing a quarter of the land and almost all the other sources of economic and intellectual influence, they found themselves debarred from any share in the official administration of the realm. Viewing with bitter dissatisfaction the Magyar monopoly of all posts of honour and power in the army, navy, legislature, judicature, and diplomacy, they were naturally inclined to welcome drastic changes—at least of a political nature. Moreover, what may be called a proletarian *intelligenza* was exceedingly numerous in Budapest and was mostly Jewish, consisting of more or less educated men not yet settled in any assured livelihood,

[1] The Catholics were an exception, but even they were much divided in race, politics, and language, and did not appreciate the importance of having a press to defend their common interests. Except for some devotional journals, they had only one organ of any importance, and it was neither popularly edited nor widely circulated.

[2] To these circumstances they owed a practically complete exemption from active fighting in the war, being rejected as unfit by their medical coreligionists, or being sent to do ambulance work, or (especially owing to their knowledge of languages) being used as interpreters and clerks in the military bureaux.

but restlessly swarming in all the lower strata of commercial, literary and artistic life—scribblers, quack doctors, bucket-shop swindlers, etc. Such men naturally yearned for troubled waters wherein to fish.

This large foreign community, powerful out of proportion to its size, was evidently an element of instability in the body politic. It was rendered the more dangerous by the lack of homogeneity in that body. The dominant Magyars, urged by the intense national spirit of the Kossuth Revolution, had come to treat the Slovenes, Slovaks, Croats, Roumanians and the other subject nationalities with contempt, if not with cruelty, and to place galling restrictions on their languages and customs. Thus these peoples were forced to fix their hopes for redress on their kindred races over the Hungarian borders.

Again, as the Magyar and the Slav races contained members of various religions, there was a natural tendency in the legislature to pursue a Broad-Church or secularist policy as regards religious matters, and especially as regards marriage-laws—a tendency which evoked vigorous opposition from the majority of the Catholic people.

The growth of urban industry, due mostly to the enterprise of Jewish entrepreneurs, had brought the labour question to the fore. About 5,000 factories employed some 500,000 workmen. The Social-Democratic Party, organised to a great extent by Jewish leaders, and counting some 200,000 members, advocated a Revisionist form of Socialism ; there was a small party of Orthodox Marxists but no Bolshevism till 1918.

Lastly, a political line of cleavage separated the Magyars into two parties. While all chafed beneath the restrictions which the 1867 *Ausgleich* with Austria imposed on their independence, those of the Majority Party led by Count Tisza were convinced that only by this slight whittling down of principle could they secure for the kingdom its territorial integrity, and for themselves their supremacy over the Slav nationalities ; the other party,

headed since 1914 by Karolyi, looked rather to alliance with France and Russia, but till the collapse of 1918 it had not the courage to advocate open revolt from Austria.

Yet, not even all these rifts crossing each other and dividing the Hungarian people into innumerable factions, were sufficient to supply the conditions under which the virus of Russian Bolshevism could develop into the fever of the Hundred Days. That virus was introduced as early as October, 1917, or perhaps earlier, but its symptoms began to appear only when the military collapse of the nation caused the disruption of the old-fashioned administrative system; the fever broke out in all its fury only when the evident determination of the Allies to destroy the Hungarian kingdom had taken from the nation its last hope of life.

At first the war was popular with the Magyars. Even the '48 party under Karolyi dared not resist the general enthusiasm. Tisza, who was thought—wrongly as afterwards transpired—to have favoured the war, was the hero of the hour. As for the subject nationalities, the future, whether it was to bring victory or defeat, was so obscure that they made little protest. It was not, however, love of Austria, still less love of Germany, which caused the Magyar enthusiasm; it was rather the fear of Russia and the Slavs, and also the hope that victory might bring to themselves a more complete independence.

Apprehensions as to the issue of the war began to be felt in January, 1918. Roumania and Servia had indeed been crushed, and Russia had ceased to be dangerous, but on the Western front the situation was perilous. As subsequently disaster after disaster was announced the nation turned away from Tisza (who was soon forced to resign), and set its hopes on the party of Karolyi, who was supposed to be a friend of the Entente statesmen. The cry for a separate peace became irresistible when in October came the news of the Bulgarian

capitulation, the revolt of the Croats, the collapse of the Piave line, and Ludendorff's defeat. A national Council was formed by Karolyi, and published a Manifesto calling on the army to return immediately from the front, and demanding a separate peace, a democratic constitution, and the autonomy of the subject nationalities.

On the 29th October there were violent anti-Austrian demonstrations calling for the appointment of Karolyi as President of the Republic. They were dispersed by the military, but were renewed the next day. The Emperor sent orders that there was to be no more firing, and soon afterwards appointed Karolyi minister. The new cabinet consisted of radicals, nationalists, and two socialists. As the people of Budapest knew that Karl was now helpless—Vienna being in revolution—they continued their agitation for complete independence and were joined by the soldiers. Finally Karolyi was relieved of his oath of allegiance by telephone, and on the 16th November the Hungarian Republic was proclaimed.

In their joy over their new-found independence the Hungarians conceived the wildest delusions as to the intentions of the Entente. They fancied that, if they organised themselves as a thoroughly democratic state on a basis of universal secret suffrage and gave a due measure of autonomy to the Slav races within their borders, the Entente would believe that they had been dragged into the war by Austria and Germany; they expected that in accordance with Wilson's Fourteen Points their realm would be saved from mutilation. As yet there was no thought of a social upheaval.

Karolyi set out for Belgrade to discuss the terms of the armistice with the French general, Franchey d'Esperey, and brought as earnests of the new Republican spirit the Socialist Bokanyi and a delegate of the Soldiers' Soviet, Cszerniak. The French general, ignorant of the arrangements which the Entente had made with the Roumanians and the Czecho-Slovaks, proposed terms

of a military character which would enable the French army to cut off Mackensen in Roumania and Transylvania. Karolyi, though with difficulty, managed to get these terms accepted by his cabinet. He trusted that they would be modified at the Peace Conference; moreover, he had conceived the design of giving a certain amount of freedom to the Bolshevik agitation in the hope that the fear of its infection might render the Allies more lenient.

A succession of disasters overthrew all his calculations. On the very morrow of the armistice the Transylvanians, Ruthenians and Slovaks, no longer satisfied with the promised autonomy within the Hungarian constitution, proclaimed their independence, and the Entente authorised the occupation of large portions of Hungary by Czechs, Serbs, and Roumanians, who now began to pour over the borders, and even passed the limits marked for them. With difficulty were Hungarian troops scraped together to oppose them, and generally had to retreat. In December the Serbs had occupied the Banat, the Czechs had advanced to Kassa, were seizing the line of the Danube and marching on Komarom. Budapest being thus cut off from coal and wood, its factories were closing down, throwing on the snow-covered streets thousands of starving workmen. Naturally these men thus driven to despair lent a ready ear to the soldiers and professional agitators (mostly Jews as Kun and Pogany) who had returned from Russia instructed in the methods of Bolshevik propaganda. Bela Kun had come back in November, and with the aid of large sums of money given him by Lenin set about organising Soviets and securing the services of bands of desperados; he also established a Bolshevik paper.

Meanwhile Karolyi's cabinet was divided against itself, the Bourgeois ministers urging the necessity of a small military force in order to repress the Bolshevik agitation, the Socialist ministers resisting this proposal and demand-

ing a purely Socialist government. Karolyi favoured the Socialist demands, probably because he expected that the commander of the French army, Capitaine Vix, would intervene to crush the rising Bolshevik power. The Frenchman, however, when invited to do this replied that his troops were not there for police purposes.

Bela Kun's task was thus made easier. Still, he did not succeed in it all at once. The vast majority of the trade-unions were against him, as also their organ, the *Nepzava*. Even a large part of the soldiers, who still lived in barracks, regarded him with suspicion, and more than once (even as late as January, 1919) opened fire on his followers. In an attack on the *Nepzava* offices his party was driven off with some loss of life, and the next day a meeting of several thousand workmen was held to protest against this attack on the freedom of the press. For complicity in this affair Kun and some of his fellow-Communists, Laszlo, Korvin-Klein, etc., were arrested; but, the prison officials having been previously sovietised, they enjoyed the double advantage of the glory of martyrdom and complete freedom of communication with their friends outside. The Bolshevik agitation was now being pushed forward with greater energy than ever, Soviets being formed, Red-guards enlisted, pamphlets spread broadcast, wild reports circulated of Lenin's armies marching in irresistible strength to support the down-trodden Hungarian proletariate. Karolyi had played for French intervention and had lost. He could not rule the pandemonium he had evoked, and when on the 18th March Colonel Stead authorised the Czechs to advance along the Danube as far as Bala, and on the next day Vix authorised the Roumanians to march 100 kilometres into Hungary he resigned, abandoning the ship of state to anyone who might care to take it.

Bela Kun was ready. On March 20th the Dictatorship of the Proletariate was inaugurated and 26 Commissaries of the People (18 of them Jews), were appointed.

The first care of the new government was, of course, to strengthen its hold on the capital. By means of the Soldiers' Soviets it got control of all the arms, ammunition, armoured cars, barracks, etc., and it had already organised two small but highly paid bodies [1] of fanatic Bolsheviks, mostly soldiers returned from Russia.

The first decrees forbade under pain of death the unauthorised possession of arms. All sale of intoxicating liquor was forbidden also, the Bolshevik dictators having no notion of letting the proletariate indulge its desire of wild orgies and indiscriminate pillage. But if the revolution was to be orderly it was not to be slow or even gradual. From March 22 on there descended on the country a rain of official decrees, several a day, each like a bombshell breaking up some part of the old social order. By April 3 modern civilisation lay in ruins, so far as legal enactment and armed terrorism could ruin it. Property in banks was confiscated. All citizens were to deliver up to the State within fifteen days all their gold, ornaments, jewels, securities, etc.; later on they had to hand over all their clothes with the exception of one suit, three shirts, three pairs of socks and one pair of boots. All dwelling-houses became public property, the former owners being allowed to retain one room per adult, the populace being invited to occupy the others. In each house the servants were bidden to appoint a person to act as *concierge*. This man, when approved of by the authorities, had the power to admit or reject applicants for rooms, to bestow them as he wished, to distribute at his discretion the cards without which no food could be bought at the shops, and to report any political disaffection among his charges. Shops were partly closed for stock-taking, partly allowed to function

[1] Of these bodies one, about 700 strong, and led by Czerny, a native Hungarian, was called the "Lenin-boys," and had as its function the systematic terrorising of the inhabitants of the city, much after the manner of our Black-and-Tans; the other body, a secret-service force, under Klein, a Jew, extracted by means of unmentionable tortures avowals and denunciations from its victims.

under the supervision of a Bolshevik official. Goods were delivered (at state-controlled prices) only to persons provided with a *concierge's* card and a trade-union ticket. To get even the necessaries of life every adult man or woman had to belong to some trade-union. Factories containing more than ten persons were socialised and their management entrusted to the workers organised in Soviets under trusty officials. Their profits were to go to the State, but soon, of course, there were no profits. Partly through lack of fuel and raw materials, but mostly through disorganisation, the factories were, after a short time, producing hardly anything; before the end of the three months régime piece-work had to be reintroduced and slackness threatened with Draconian rigours. At first the seizing of personal effects, bank deposits, stocks of merchandise, and church property placed in the hands of the government enormous quantities of wealth, but most of this not being in a negotiable form was useless, and the rest was soon dissipated in wages (paid in goods or paper) to labourers who did no work, in salaries to vast hordes of officials, and in foreign propaganda. A huge issue of white paper *assignats* availed little. The stocks of blue paper and the presses for making the old Hungarian notes (which alone were of value abroad) were in Vienna. In spite of government assurances as to its value and penalties for its refusal no one would accept the new currency except at the revolver's mouth. Cinemas and theatres were free of charge, but could be availed of only by those who had trade-union cards and who could sit out a lecture on the happiness of the Bolshevik régime. Young Jewish students just qualified were appointed to replace the University professors whose Bolshevism was not thought reliable. Teachers, too, in secondary and primary schools had to attend a course of Bolshevik theory and satisfy the authorities of their conversion before being allowed to continue their functions. Two of the chief subjects

in all school curricula were the theory of Bolshevism and Sex-Hygiene; young people of both sexes had to attend demonstrations on the latter subject in the hospitals and in the picture-houses. Schools, too, were sovietised, committees of the scholars being formed to arrange the order of time, to overhaul the disciplinary rules, and especially to watch over the Bolshevik orthodoxy of the teachers.

On the morrow of the Revolution the religious policy of the government was declared by Oscar Faber, the official liquidator. All religious orders of men and women were to be suppressed, all church property confiscated and public service forbidden, churches to be converted into cinema-halls, theatres, depots for storing merchandise, etc. Immediately, however, vast crowds of men and women standing on guard around the Catholic churches brought home to the government the danger of the Revolution taking on the character of a Jewish persecution of Christians. A roundabout policy was therefore deemed necessary, and on April 18th the official decree about religion was published. There was to be perfect freedom of worship. On the other hand all sources of wealth movable and immovable, belonging to priests or religious, were to be confiscated. Schools, orphanages, seminaries, hospitals, asylums, etc., of a confessional character were to be secularised. These decrees applied, it is to be noted, not merely to the property of Catholics, Evangelicals, Reformed Church, Unitarians, and Orthodox, but also to that of Jews. The clergy of all ranks were deprived of their means of subsistence and could get food-tickets only by signing a formula of adherence to Bolshevik principles. Some managed through the kind offices of secret friends to get hold of trade-union food-cards, but the vast majority of the Catholic clergy rejected this subterfuge. Their flocks, however, supported them with extraordinary self-sacrifice and enabled them to continue their ministry, in which they were exposed to

constant espionage and violent assaults, some score of them being murdered in cold blood. The nuns, driven from schools, hospitals and orphanages, supported themselves as best they could as servants or governesses.

The country parts of Hungary never came completely under the power of Bela Kun. Some of the large estates which the peasants had divided up amongst themselves were reorganised as large-scale enterprises under the management of officials (accompanied by Red troops) sent from Budapest. The peasants found that they had exchanged their old Jewish stewards for other Jews more formidable and more tyrannous, and were not reconciled to the change by the higher wages paid in worthless white notes. Neither did the small owners, the agricultural proletariate, appreciate the advantage of exemption from taxes and their security of tenure, when they had to pay extravagantly high wages in good blue notes and to sell their produce at fixed rates paid in the despised white paper-money. To remedy the ruin threatened by the refractoriness of the peasantry, a Jew named Samuel (the most bloodthirsty of all Kun's followers) was put in charge of the famous "terror-train." Steel-clad, bristling with machine guns, and carrying a large force of Red troops, it traversed the country day and night. Floggings and hangings were employed to persuade the countryside to supply the cities with food, while Red guards collected vast herds of cattle and sheep for the towns. Meanwhile the French army of occupation under Vix, though constantly besought by the miserable inhabitants of Budapest to restore order and peace, had to stand inactive owing to the jealousy with which the Allies regarded the French.

Such was the life of Hungary from March 20 till August 1. All this time the hostile forces were advancing. By May 2 the Roumanians were over the Tisza, the Czechs were at Miskolsk, the Serbs at Szeged. Kun had to divert his attention from his home policy to this

menace. Red armies were organised according to the old system of discipline, the new-fangled Soldiers' Soviets being abolished. Against the Czechs some success was scored, and even for a short time against the Roumanians; but the latter turning recrossed the Tisza and were soon moving on Buda. Conscription was then applied and more forces were put in the field, but the non-Bolshevik soldiers began to desert with their arms, and soon all over the country White regiments were being formed.

By July 25 Kun's position was desperate. The armies he had raised were falling back on the city. He dared not await their arrival; for they contained too many Whites. He therefore opened negotiations with the Allies, suggesting the establishment of a government which they could acknowledge, at least provisionally. On July 27 the Supreme Council promised (but vaguely and conditionally) its recognition and support to a new Socialist but non-Bolshevik government. Before this was established Kun on August 1, accompanied by the Jewish members of his government, escaped to the frontier in a special train.

The Allied Council now authorised the Roumanian troops (of whom they were not jealous as they had been of the French) to enter Budapest and restore order. On August 6 these secular foes of Hungary were welcomed by the populace of the capital with the wildest enthusiasm.[1]

Every Magyar, even the simplest peasant, had always conceived his country as an indivisible whole, all the parts of whose territory, its forests, its mountains, its vast plains were necessary to each other. Tradition in story and song had always insisted on this unity, a unity unbroken for 1,000 years. By the Peace of Versailles, Hungary was now deprived of thirteen of its twenty

[1] The enthusiasm was short-lived; for the Roumanians plundered the whole country occupied by them in revenge for the plundering of their country by Mackensen.

millions of people and of two-thirds of its ancestral land. Such an amputation could not but cause a feverish and morbid spirit. The Magyars realised clearly that the cause of their country's mutilation was the large proportion of foreign races dwelling within their borders. They were therefore driven to a frenzied assertion of their nationality and a violent hatred of all alien races. This feeling was the more passionate as now Magyar and Hungarian were absolutely synonymous terms. The Serbs, Roumanians, Slovaks, Slovenes and the rest were gone. Not, however, the Jews; these still remained. Even had their past been such as to conciliate goodwill, their presence as a foreign body would have provoked irritation. But their past exasperated a hundred-fold this irritation. The Hundred Days Terror was thought—and rightly thought—the work of Jews. Men did not stop to reflect that it was not the work of *all the Jews*, that indeed some Jews had suffered most severely by it. The big fact stood out that Jews had organised a conspiracy against the Hungarian civilisation, and had subjected the Hungarian race to humiliations and sufferings unprecedented in all its history. And now the vials of Magyar wrath overflowed when these shifty folk were seen to be fawning on the Roumanians—who had come to punish them—and to be helping them to plunder the land once more.

There ensued terrible scenes of reprisals carried out, not by the government, but in despite of it. Numerous ex-officers, some of them brutalised by war, others seeking vengeance for murdered relatives, formed themselves into bands and committed horrible slaughters of Jews taken more or less at random. The peasants, too, in several districts exacted full retribution for their sufferings. Though the government, which necessarily took some time to organise its police-machinery, cannot be held responsible for this outburst of vengeful passion, its prime-minister, Friedrich, certainly did much to nullify

its efforts at pacification. No one knows precisely how this political adventurer, an atheist, and even at one time a partisan of the Jewish Communists, managed to become leader of a cabinet which professed a christianising and nationalising policy. In his craving for popularity he gave a violent anti-Jewish bias to this policy, a necessary and legitimate policy, but one requiring much prudence and moderation. He soon fell from power, however, for he held the confidence of no party. The ministers who succeeded him, Teleki, Horthy, Huszar have shown courage and energy in restoring public order. This was no easy task owing to the almost universal anti-Jewish feeling, and the large number of irresponsible hot-heads thirsting for vengeance. The punishment of Christian crimes made all the more necessary the simultaneous punishment of the crimes committed under the Bela Kun régime; hence the interning of some and execution after due form of trial of others of the Bolshevik party. Of the 17,724 trials instituted, 1,265 issued in condemnations to imprisonment or death for personal commission or immediate co-operation in the more heinous cases of robbery, violence or murder. All other crimes committed during the Hundred Days were amnistied by Horthy on December 24, 1920. In Hungary the highest estimate of those put to death (including those killed in the first outbreak of popular vengeance) is 300, an appalling figure certainly, and not to be palliated by comparison with the much larger minimum estimate of the 1,500 victims of the Bolshevik régime.

The undeniable and indefensible severity of the "White Terror" was, of course, wildly exaggerated in the International Jewish press, and was represented both as a breach of the agreement between the Allies and the Peidl government, and as a policy of destruction aimed at the Labour Party. Neither of these charges seems to be valid. A promise had, indeed, been given that there would be no political persecution, but the Hungarian

government—plausibly enough—argued that such a promise did not imply the recognition of wholesale murder and robbery as legitimate political propaganda. Only those who personally joined in or ordered criminal acts were arraigned. Many of the Communist leaders are still walking unmolested the streets of Budapest, and even occupy honourable positions in the city—much to the disgust constantly expressed of many members of the legislature. Though open Communist agitation is repressed by law, there has been no interference with the Social-Democratic or Socialist party which in Budapest returns six members, three of them Jews. Outside of Budapest, however, this party has lost all its power. Having been for long under the leadership of the Jews, it has been abandoned by the whole agricultural labouring class, which is now organised in unions inspired by the Christian-National principles.

The party on which the government has relied for support ever since the downfall of Friedrich is the Christian-National Party, which aims at a reconstruction of the country on principles in conformity with Christianity and the traditions of the nation. To this party belong practically all the Magyar population, nobles bourgeois and peasants, employers and employed, rich and poor, townsfolk and country-folk, Catholic and Protestant. There are, however, large numbers of people who, while belonging to this party, belong at the same time to one or other of the more aggressive leagues in which the National aspirations find spontaneous expression. Of these the most important is the "League of Awakening Hungarians," containing about 1,000,000 members. It is recruited mostly among the younger generation, is bitterly anti-Jewish, and to its account is generally ascribed the disgraceful Jew-hunts of July and August, 1920, which Horthy had to punish severely.

This young, impatient, aggressive association (and others, too, of less importance, but more violent and

secretive) is causing much embarrassment to the government in its dealing with the reconstruction problems of the new Hungary, and especially in its treatment of the Jewish problem. For this problem is now acuter than ever. The proportion of Jews is greater in the new Hungary than it was in the old realm. In Budapest alone there are some 300,000, and (spite of the "White Terror"!) they are still crowding in from Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, and Poland. Of course the wealthier bourgeoisie is now as ever mostly Jewish, and—strange as it will seem to those who fancy that a White Anti-Semite terror still continues—are more ostentatious of their wealth and power than ever before. It is not strange, therefore, that the Hungarians in general are yet apprehensive lest their recent experience may repeat itself.

So great is this apprehension that it has caused in the nation what almost amounts to a change of character. There are now four or five large banking concerns conducted exclusively by Magyars. The "Ant," a non-Jewish co-operative organisation, has developed so rapidly that it has some 2,000 branches through the country, and most of the imports and exports are conducted by its means. The rapid growth of the co-operative principle exemplified in the "Ant" (and in several other lesser associations, notably that of the Christian Agricultural Unions) present a serious rivalry to the hitherto unchallenged commercial supremacy of the Jews. As regards the press, too, there are now several widely circulated non-Jewish papers

The government has always vigorously encouraged these attempts made by the people themselves to solve by economic and peaceful methods the thorny problem of the Jews; it has, however, gone further, and has striven by legal enactments to limit their intellectual and economic domination. Among these enactments the most notable is that known as the law of the *Numerus Clausus*, passed September, 1920. According to this law the proportion

of Jews in the University, in schools, banks, factories, and in all state offices must not exceed their proportion in the total population.

The vigorous objections which many of the most influential statesmen in Hungary, men like Apponyi, Andrassy, Huszar, made to these discriminations against a particular category of citizens are a good augury for the future, and this spirit is undoubtedly growing among the people at large. As the evil memories of 1919 are growing fainter men are realising more and more clearly that measures of persecution will only make the problem more complex, not to mention the disgrace they bring on the national reputation. Hungary owes much, especially as regards her industrial development, to the Jews; indeed she could hardly do without them. They should, therefore, be given full credit for their services and encouraged to continue them. Steadily growing, too, is the belief that Jewish parasitism and monopoly would be best combated by a policy which would rely less on repression and more on the stimulating of a spirit of co-operation, thrift, sobriety, civic and social responsibility, and close family life. The national faults, a stupid contempt for trade, indolence, and ostentation are being recognised as having not merely enabled, but even tempted, the Jews, some of them to acquire a dangerous economic power, others of them to bring a still greater danger on the state by their chicanery and demagogic talents. There is a widespread desire to utilise the fresh vigorous renewal of the national spirit for the purpose of correcting the national faults. If this policy, both Christian and national, be steadily pursued Hungary will not suffer, but profit by Jewish enterprise.

L. M'Kenna.

THE NEW SECONDARY PROGRAMMES IN IRELAND

BY PROFESSOR T. CORCORAN, S.J., D.LITT.

I.—Classical Studies.

THE effects of post-war conditions on classical studies in North-Western Europe have been unexpectedly diverse. In England there has been a considerable impulse away from Latin and Greek: its results will be seen in the next few years in the schools, and they have already become very marked in the Universities. In France and in Belgium non-classical subjects have depreciated in public value to a very striking extent; and both countries have seen at work an intellectual revolt against the dominance of German standards, methods, and choice of subject matter in the field of classical studies. The Teutonic aspect of ancient culture had indeed been as dominant in France and Belgium, ever since 1871, as it had been in England and the United States for the whole of the past hundred years: and by "England" is also meant the outpost institutions that follow England's track. Thus Dr. Starkie's edition of the *Wasps* was even more Germanic in form and substance than the *Juvenal* produced by J. B. Mayor as a prelude to his efforts on behalf of the Old Catholic revolt in Germany; and other classical students among us remember the critical article in which R. Y. Tyrrell explained his ignorance of J. P. Mahaffy's views on a certain point as being due to his not yet having time to read the latest German pamphlet on

the subject. There is not much likelihood of England following the lead of France and Belgium in reverting to their national tradition of aim and methods in classical studies, rejecting recent and alien infiltrations; and if we may judge by the fate of Latin as a subject open to choice in the "advanced" courses now fostered in State-aided English secondary schools, there is no prospect of much progress in making classical culture influential in English education. The same prospect could, it may be taken, be vouched for by the band of enthusiastic reformers who have endeavoured, without much external success, to "reform" the whole teaching of Latin and Greek in England.

The outlook in Ireland is much better. Before all else, the ideal of a national culture, strongly intertwined with the international culture of Latin, and markedly widespread among our whole people, survived down to the period of the sundering of tradition, 1820-1880: and it still lives. The years since 1880 show a consistently large amount of Latin teaching and study in our secondary schools, though Latin has been in free competition with all modern subjects. Of late years the combination of Irish and Latin, as a main group of subjects in the secondary courses, has become almost surprisingly popular. The petty attempts made to promote Latin, by rules giving small special privileges to the subject, were, on the whole, only an official impertinence: no such aid was called for or welcomed by those who were concerned in the promotion of classical studies in Ireland. Still less was the popular culture of Latin aided by the rather aimless efforts of the Classical Association established here on English lines some fifteen years ago. It did no harm; but it had the fatal defects of absence of a practical detailed policy and of dependence on a single type of social environment neither Irish nor influential in Ireland. It did not reach, and did not consider the needs of the average working teacher of classics. Above all, it worked for a

strengthening of the English usage in classical teaching in this country. What this usage is, and the growth and extent of its activities, will repay some investigation.

The main current of Irish tradition in the teaching of classics was prevalent over at least two-thirds of the classical schools of Ireland from the mediaeval period down to the middle of the nineteenth century. It was in close and friendly contact with the use of Irish for advanced instruction: the two languages shared the content of education in history, poetry, law and medicine. Beyond even the liberal measure of democratic use which marked the whole culture of Mediaeval Europe, the Irish-Latin curriculum of Ireland, down to the close of the Penal times, reached and deeply affected the whole mass of the people. With the alien tradition from Puritan Cambridge, which reached Ireland through the new Cambridge set up at Trinity College in the Pale, these Irish schools had little contact, and with good reason. The spirit of the sixteenth century University in England is well typified in the deliberate falsification of classical pronunciation, which Dr. James Gow affirms to have been carried out, between 1550 and 1552, from sectarian and political motives. With the Scots' classical schools of Ulster, often bitterly persecuted by the Anglican hierarchy there in the Penal times, the main body of Irish classical teaching had more in common. This main current continued to be unaffected by English usage, even though it made some use of the English language, down to the Famine.

Contact at first hand, and in manifold ways, with the Continental tradition of classical studies was the most effective barrier against English influence. The result seen in the Latin writings of Irish scholars of the seventeenth century—in Lombard, Wadding, O'Mahony, O'Connell, O'Molony, Baron, O'Bruodin, and many others —is a typical result. They most nobly maintained the non-anglicised tradition of Irish classical scholarship, and they did so throughout all historic Europe—at Rome,

Salamanca, Prague, Paris, Louvain, Lisbon. These writers all acquired their command of Greek and Latin at illegal schools in Ireland. These very numerous "illegal" classical schools were still flourishing in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and were but little anglicised in methods or aims. They were in the closest contact with the whole people. In the Census documents of 1821—now lost for ever before their exploration had well begun—the writer has often come across, in the volumes on the Midland Baronies, a household of young labouring men, with one or two of these labourers' names supplemented by the official census-taker's note: "classical scholar." The classical schools were to be found all over Ireland, north and south: they were thoroughly local, though they often drew scholars from afar. The distinction of scholarship they shared with the cognate schools of mathematics.

Two causes, operative since 1850, led to the introduction and definitive—though, it is to be hoped, not final—triumph of English classical usages in Irish education. The first of these was made up of several co-operating elements—the examinations for the English Civil Service, the examinations of the University of London, and the examinations of the Queen's University. Even a slight acquaintance with the history and the persons concerned with these institutions from 1850 to 1880, will show that they all, in the field of classical studies, introduced and developed an alien tradition. The introduction of the regional classical school, as distinct from the local school, was another contributing cause to the current of anglicisation: it was thus made easier to affect the whole country, for the number of classical schools diminished greatly from 1820 to 1880. But these elements of transformation achieved, on the whole, only very partial effects, until in 1878-1882 the setting up of the Intermediate Board and the late Royal University, as examining bodies in classics, speeded up the change of systems. Through its prepon-

derant position on the Intermediate Education Board, Trinity College was able to mould classical studies in Ireland, and came to assume that its tradition was the Irish tradition : the " English College in Dublin," so styled in its own letter to Cecil, 1593, underwent a skilful change. Quite similar was the use of the word " Irish " by the Colonial Ascendancy Parliament shortly before 1800, and by the Boards and other Institutions in which that Ascendancy Parliament continued to rule until very lately. Characteristic also is the discovery, by such a writer as Mr. Justice Madden, less than twenty years ago, that there were two separate traditions of classical teaching and scholarship in Ireland.

The effects of this latest development of anglicisation —latest, because not widely effective till after 1878—have been very considerable. Classical studies were done in and through English books : the effect of this, in history especially, has been quite definite and is capable of being stated in precise detail. Direct contact of our classical teachers with continental traditions—always akin to the true Irish tradition—was practically cut off : our instructors were content to accept even secondhand English ways and standards of judgment as valid and universal. It was another instance of the great truth that England had succeeded, within the last half century, in surrounding Ireland with an English wall of paper.

This insulating process extended into all details of work : and lamentable indeed was the facility with which the classical schools of the great majority of the Irish people, the schools which should have been the guardians of Irish tradition, rapidly conformed, between 1878 and 1883, to all these alien ways. They took up as the sole methods of classical teaching, a minute study of the mere philology and grammar of the classical writers, and with it a spurious form of classical " composition." They abandoned the main tradition of education, in which the Ireland of a century ago was still in line with European

culture. To that tradition, and to that direct mental intercourse with Europe and especially with the Latin peoples of Europe, we must avail ourselves of our new freedom in order to return. The road is opened to us by the new programmes of work in Greek and Latin ; though if a minority or minorities so will, they can still, within the letters of these programmes, pursue work on English or on German-English lines. Full facilities for various policies, without any rigorous compulsion, is the keynote of the coming curriculum. Is it too much to hope that educational associations, both of heads and of assistants in schools, will avail of their opportunities on the classical side ? There is ample room for constructive thinking : it has been almost neglected for half a century.

What are the essential issues ?

Three leading topics of matter and method, and two problems of organisation present themselves for consideration. They may be entitled the handling of literature, of composition, of the spoken word ; the planning of a democratic policy for classical studies in Ireland, and the planning of direct relations with the classical studies of Western Europe.

Broadly stated, the examination of classical texts should aim always at a knowledge of the thought-content and literary structure of what is read, and only in a secondary way at the details of grammatical form. *Rem tene, verba sequentur* is an ancient maxim, true not only in the case of the public speaker but of the very beginner in Latin learning. The true classical teacher will set before students, as the core and life-source of instruction, what the author had to say, and how a criticism of thought-value will appraise it : and he will join with this, or rather interlace with it, an exposition of the structural skill of the writer. The modern English classical teacher, following a debased or exported Germanic treatment, is above all concerned with verbal connexions : style is syntax, in this tradition. Therefore modern English literature is rarely

good in structure: English prose, in particular, as John Morley has pointed out, is amorphous in form and indeterminate in outline. Far other is the prose of France, moulded—at least till 1900—on the study of the structural plan of longer classical writings: in France analysis means primarily the study of a whole passage, while in English education it means the grammatical organisation of a single sentence. I have heard the French pupil complain of a teacher's pre-occupation with grammar detail, because it ousted the exposition of the author's plan, aim, and methods of argument. This whole concept of classical teaching would be unknown in England, or in English Ireland; and it need hardly be said that it has long been unknown in our examinations in Greek and Latin for the whole school age. The restoration of the true idea of literary study is essential to progress not only in Greek and in Latin, but in modern languages also, and above all in modern Irish, which is rarely if ever taught as literature. The teacher of classics is a teacher of literature, not a mere maker of more or less clumsy translations. The further we can get in classics from the dull and inefficient monotony of the translation-grind, even with beginners, the better. It was never a feature of good classical teaching, or of any good language teaching.

An equally complete change is necessary in what is called "composition"—which is not composition at all, but merely reversed translation, having no roots in educational tradition and subserving no definite end. Following the mechanical routine of England, it has imposed itself on Irish education from the humblest "preliminary" or "preparatory" test up to the most advanced University examination; and by long-established custom, teachers let examinations set bounds to their daily work. It is the negation of all personal thought, personal order, personal phrasing and expression; for its very essence is the exclusion of independent or personal ideas, by the transference of the whole and mere thoughts

of another into other words. It is from the pure tradition of the best centuries of classical education that the true concept of " free composition " derived : and the older generation of teachers of modern languages will remember how these languages suffered in Irish schools, as long as the debased teaching methods of English classical schools were imposed among us on French and German and even on Irish studies. The restoration of " free composition," the only true type, will do even more. It will be feasible once again for the student of average ability, and will make the language, be it Latin or Greek, a living thing, not stiff and inert. And by " free composition " it will be possible to link up closely the cultivation of self-expression to the study of literary form. " Spurious composition " in the school resolves itself into sterile phrase-imitation : it is only the imitation of literary form that leads the way to independent self-expression.

The new classical programmes in Ireland will free the way for the sustained literary study of " types " having distinctive thought-content. They also enable schools to restore literary composition, if they will. The cultivation of acrobatic skill in the translation, back and forwards, of mere casual snippet-passages of Latin and of English, may disappear : these are the chief cause of the decline of classical studies and of their almost total lack of influence on modern culture. The literary analysis, in Latin, of a complete passage in that language can easily be taught and practised ; and it is of better substance educationally than all the translation and retranslation ever practised. It is closer to our actual lives and mental processes.

Appreciation at once of the essentials of self-expression and of the subject matter of good literature in Latin will be notably aided by the restoration to use, as a method of class-work, of the spoken word. In the Mediaeval schools and in the Renaissance colleges alike fluent Latin speech was an end, and a principal end : it was needed in many aspects of public life, civil and

military, legal and ecclesiastical, throughout Roman Europe, down to the French Revolution. Important, too, were its widespread academic uses; but these by themselves never justify the teacher in insisting on the attainment of mastery over the spoken word. To-day the realm of spoken Latin is more restricted, but yet very real. As an end it has become definitely ecclesiastical. The eloquent page in which Pope Pius XI. directs (Apostolic Letter on Studies, 7 August, 1922) primary attention to the universal value of a thorough mastery of Latin, *loquendi genus pressum, locuples, numerosum, maiestatis plenum et dignitatis*, includes a special provision on command of Latin speech, by reason of the *maiores disciplinae quae latine utique et tradendae et percipiendae sunt.* The reputation, as cultured and fluent speakers of Latin, of the Irish students who "illegally" flocked to the Continental Universities, from the Religious Revolts down to the French Revolution, stood extremely high, as the records of Rome, Louvain, and Salamanca abundantly prove at the time. We have not the same position abroad, in this as well as in many other things of moment, since we forsook our own educational traditions; and the time has come for a practical revival of the old methods in our secondary schools. For some of our students it will be both a method and an end in Latin studies. For all without exception it should be a valuable method.

Even in England the dreary routine of Latin classwork, almost universally producing little but the dust of chaff instead of good grain, has in a substantial number of schools been beneficially replaced by live oral work. This has come about within the last twenty years, though it does not seem to be making headway of late. Where its use has been wisely limited to serve literary study, it has given excellent results. Spoken Latin, studied and practised on full direct method lines, is no longer pedagogically sound: the reasons for it are far less strong than in the case of languages which have a spoken use outside

the walls of the school. But unquestionably a measure of spoken Latin, directed to the discussion of literary texts and to self-expression on their subject-matter, is far preferable as a composition method to any translation-process, and gives a confidence in the scholar's self that reading and writing cannot guarantee. The time for this practice is emphatically the opening years of study : its use should precede all written composition, and should continue side by side with it. It will, besides, be a valuable parallel to the progressive mastery of the spoken word in Irish and in Continental languages, though all tradition is against its application to Greek, a language which throughout Europe has always ranked much below Latin as a branch of study. *Ad usum Latina potior est,* wrote Muretus.

The place of Greek is easily defined. Mere scholastic English tradition, always a dubious guide, sought to make it equal to Latin in educational use ; but the whole policy of the Renaissance in Europe, the modern source and standard of Greek studies, teaches far otherwise. Neither for self-expression with the pen, nor for oral mastery, was Greek ever placed on a level with Latin in European culture. Not for the same wide and practical ends as Latin, but only *ad doctrinae copiam,* as Muretus, typical scholar of the Renaissance, laid down at Rome in 1583, was the Greek language restored in Western education. He was then lecturing on the *Ethics* of Aristotle, and his selection of the author and the work was typical of the true use of Greek. So defined as a storehouse of varied treasures, differentiated from Latin by the lesser extent of its appeal, by the marked separateness of its teaching methods and aims, it will be able to play a better part in the future thought and culture of Ireland than it has done in the past half century.

Turning to the questions of organisation, the main problem is to determine whether classical studies, and especially Latin, are to be for the few or for the many.

Here the facts of the Irish tradition, vigorous still but a century ago, are of deep significance. Latin was essentially a subject for the local school; and it was taught in practically every country parish. It was highly esteemed by the people; and it had been for centuries in a close educational alliance with Irish. The tradition is still widespread; and as a wide extension of secondary education will be certain to be called for in Ireland, its full revival, in the same fruitful union, will be easy. Already the combination of Latin and Irish, as major subjects in a secondary course, is influencing our schools though permitted for the first time only a decade ago. It will not be too much to expect the growth of the district secondary schools in the near future, taking over the students from the primary school and carrying them to the completion of the Junior period of the secondary curriculum, at the age of sixteen. One can hope that in these the teaching staff of a combined primary and secondary system, educated in the secondary school and in the University, will be equipped for Latin teaching. By this means we shall get back very nearly to the curriculum of the good local school, at once primary and secondary, vernacular and classical, which was widely existent before the "National Board" reduced the standards of attainment and checked all progressive local education after 1831.

Finally, for the betterment of all our standards of classical study, it will be necessary to establish direct relations with the workers and educators of the Western seaboard of Europe, and above all with France. We possess, and with a little care can maintain a widespread power of reading French: its current use for all cultural and practical studies is by no means adequate in Ireland. One very effective classical school in "Northern Ireland," not pretentious but thorough in its work, has always used French classical text-books; and these text-books are thoroughly literary and admirably edited. The newer

generation of French classical scholars—by no means confined to the official schools—has produced and is constantly producing not only text-books, but works of high scholarship on all branches of Greek and Latin studies, at once admirably thorough, brilliantly clear, and commendably cheap. If we wish to go further, and avail ourselves of German works and methods, it need only be said that Austria—a land with which we have not a few traditional ties of distinct value—has confessedly had for many years a plan of classical studies, at the secondary stage, which is markedly superior to that prevalent in the other German lands. Next to Austria, in this respect, rank Bavaria and Baden.

Restore direct contact with the classical scholarship and classical method, as always prevailing in European lands; restore local education in classics, as it prevailed before the rupture of educational traditions in Ireland, and the highway to a fruitful revival of learning will have been well laid. Revert to our proved methods —to the study of classical and of all other literature primarily for its thought and its bearing on life, secondarily for its structural forms and expression; revert to the use of oral practice as a method, and, if suitable, also as an end; revert to the cultivation of personal expression in the written word—then will we travel on that high road towards the high values, individual and social, which our race has in the past derived from classical studies. If we avail of them, we shall soon be able both to break through the hitherto dense "paper wall" surrounding us, and to restore the prestige for classical scholarship which we enjoyed from the days of Dermot O'Hurley and Peter Lombard, down to the withdrawal of Irish students from Continental schools consequent on the French Revolutionary Wars.

T. Corcoran.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SANITY

Chesterton and Belloc

BY PROFESSOR ARTHUR E. CLERY

IT is impossible to discuss Belloc and Chesterton without saying something of Wilde and Shaw, who preceded them. And Wilde and Shaw in their turn cannot be understood unless we understand the state of things against which Wilde and Shaw themselves were a reaction—the England of Victoria. At its worst Victorian England was a procession of prosperous and complacent stupidity, of which Roebuck Ramsden or the self-made hero of *Hard Times* was the type. At its best it gave you the strange spectacle of a number of great men confined in intellectual cages, shut off from the freer air of the soul by the strong bars of materialism. If you would understand all its weakness, read Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. At no other time in history was death insulted with such a document. This spirit was almost universal. A few Englishmen like Newman stood out against the tendencies of the age—and incurred ruin for their pains.

The reign of Victoria is not over. It still endures. That cenotaph at Whitehall, whose distinctive characteristic is its "cenosity," its utter ugliness, proves this. But Victorianism is sadly shaken. All its complacency is gone; and an empty tomb is its appropriate symbol. Let us honour then the two men, whatever their faults, whom Merrion Square and the South Circular Road respectively sent forth to fight Victorianism unaided.

The first of these was Wilde. Platitude had been the life of the Victorian age. I instance *In Memoriam*, or Gladstone's speeches, if one prefers them. And against platitude Wilde directed his attack; no doubt he often slew real truth in his onslaught. The great feature of platitude, the secret of its social success, is that it is at once obvious, and yet untrue. "Metaphysical studies are a

waste of time." "The value of a thing is what you can get for it." "The sooner an unhappy marriage is dissolved the better for all concerned." "The British Constitution is the type of successful democracy." "A man can do what he likes with his own property." This is a small collection of statements, taken at random, all completely obvious, but having this trifling defect, that they are one and all untrue. It must have been a sense of this underlying falsehood in so much popular truth that led Wilde to attack platitude with the weapon of paradox, a weapon that was to gain for him before his fall the intellectual supremacy which I, for one, am old enough to remember. In my young days every young fellow wanted to write a society play, stuffed with paradoxes (I have two acts of one somewhere myself). In those days before his fall Wilde was *the* man with the younger generation.

The circumstances of Wilde's death-bed, when, like Chesterton, he joined the Catholic Church, are sufficient to prove that his own outlook cannot have been wholly frivolous. Yet his system stood for frivolity when it did not stand for something much worse. Like the literature of Charles II's restoration, Wilde's movement was a reaction against a period of solemn humbug and small-minded seriousness. It was inevitably frivolous. The trick of inserting a negative in a platitude to produce an epigram, was soon learned by all. Bassanio, in the *Merchant of Venice*, for instance, asks: "Do all men kill the things they do not love?"—a platitude framed as a rhetorical question. By removing the "not," Wilde produced his most famous and sinister paradox. Some times his epigrams embodied real insight into things, as that "the cynic knows the price of everything and the value of nothing." Professor Gilbert Norwood in his recent book calls it "*the* epigram," the best epigram ever made. At other times Wilde's epigram was no better than a malignant pun, like that about the Book of Life ending with revelations. Perhaps, as in the case of George

Moore, an over-dose of patriotism in his Merrion Square home had something to do with the sinister frivolity of Wilde's propaganda.

But if Merrion Square sent forth a high priest of frivolity to attack Victorian self-righteousness, the South Circular Road produced a champion of very different calibre to join in the battle of paradox against pomposity. George Bernard Shaw was a man less brilliant intellectually than Wilde, but, unlike Wilde, he had all the strength that comes of serious purpose. Like so many others of his generation, he set out to be a law-giver to the world. The greybeards and tombstones of to-day were in that age the younger generation knocking at the door: "clamouring that the new gospels of Ibsenism, Socialism and Humanitarianism be allowed within." The unbridled supremacy of the individual in morals, which is Ibsenism, the bridled debasement of the individual in politics, which is socialism, were equally their creed. A Nietzschian cruelty somehow found itself accordant with a more than womanly sensitiveness in such matters as vivisection, or even fishing and shooting. The same man Bernard Shaw denounced grouse shooting and approved of a war. If he himself does not hold, I am quite certain that many of Shaw's disciples do hold that no marraige should be contracted without the approval of the State; and the same men hold that every marriage should be dissoluble at the whim of either party. Inconsistency, however, is no proof of insincerity: sincerity is rather of the spirit than the reason, and few English movements have ever been more sincere than this intellectual revolt that had Ibsen for its God and Shaw for its prophet.

As in the case of Wilde and of Chesterton, the feature of Shaw's writings upon which the public seized was his paradoxes. Some of these, no doubt, derived from the inconsistency just spoken of. Like Thackeray, Sheridan and Ibsen himself, Shaw was prone to sacrifice the consistency of the whole to the brilliancy of the part. The

delightful episodes that centre round the impossible Britannus in *Cæsar and Cleopatra* are an apt example of how Shaw's abounding Irish wit often runs away with him. And in his earlier days innumerable people laughed with him without understanding. I can remember when Robertson produced *The Devil's Disciple* for the first time here, it seemed tremendously amusing but wholly incomprehensible. To us to-day its Nietzschian moral is crystal clear. Edward VII—if my memory serves me—was much shocked at an early performance of *Arms and the Man!* Men laughed with Shaw for many long years before they saw what he was driving at. What he was driving *against* was pretty clear—the obtuse self-righteousness of the Victorian age. Shaw was fighting the same battle as Wilde, but attacking from an opposite quarter. When you asked what he stood for, the generality of men declared (not being professed Shavians) that they did not understand him.

Almost a generation passed before Chesterton, a young man trained in Shaw's own school of paradox and serious-minded frivolity, stood forth and declared to the world that he for one understood Shaw, and that he did not agree with him. He advanced a paradox greater than any of his master. The school of Shaw and Wilde had set itself to show that most truths contain some falsehood in them. The new school set out to prove that real truths also contain some truth. This article is not intended to be an exposition, or even a criticism of, the works of Chesterton and his brain-fellow Belloc. Both men indeed have written much that I should most unwillingly be compelled to read. In all the nonsense written during the war no two men wrote worse war-nonsense than they. It is rather hoped to give some account of the gospel of life which is the common foundation of their more serious writings; which shines forth through Chesterton's apparent paradoxes, through Belloc's apparent fooling.

Piety, property, gaiety, all ending in sanity—this is

the creed of the "Chesterbellocian," a name coined by Shaw himself to describe the members of this school. The creed can best be explained by considering the faith, or at least the practice, against which it stands as a protest. Take piety first. Religion in any true sense was almost as definitely gone from the English world as from that Roman world to which Christianity was first preached. Morality was on the point of following it. It was yielding before an incessant attack. And the attack on morality was not so much on the details of right and wrong as on the existence of a right and wrong at all. Book after book issued from the English universities—some even found their way on to our Irish courses—proclaiming that morality was but dignified convention. The public morality of nations was gone long ago, with the results we know; the private code of right and wrong was now on the way to follow it. And in the vacuum caused by the absence of normal morals dreadful propaganda, that the plain man knew to be abominable, was spreading among those who suffered from the lassitude of wealth and leisure, or who sought a philosophy of life that would justify greed and lust. To such a world the Chesterbellocian appealed as the discoverer and apostle of a new religion—that enunciated a number of surprising doctrines about the wickedness of sin, the existence of an astounding addendum to a human body called a soul, the redemption of mankind, the need for penance, and much else in the same strain—it was called Christianity, or rather it was called Catholicity. For it did not mean Count Tolstoi's Christianity by any means, but something far more practicable and therefore likely to be resented.

At this point convention requires that I should make an apology. For it is necessary to introduce religious topics. To write any account of the philosophy of Belloc and Chesterton without introducing them, would be about as hopeful an enterprise as, let us say, to compose a monograph on Martin Luther omitting all reference to

religious controversy. Militant religion is the very breath of the soul to all Chesterbellocians. Belloc has always been a Catholic ; Chesterton has lately become one. The Chesterbellocian purposes to cure the world by bringing back mediæval Catholicity *en bloc*, with its hatred not merely of adultery but of usury, with its habit of large families and small freeholds, the spirit that joyfully extracted the moneylender's teeth one by one, and if a gentleman sought to make a corner in wheat burnt him and his wheat together. It was, to put it Chestertonwise, the piety of the mass, both of the mass of the people and of the holy sacrifice.

I have just spoken of small freeholds. And in this new creed property is scarcely less important than piety. If you compare the masses of the people in the Europe of to-day with those of an earlier date, the two things that strike you most are widespread want of faith and widespread want of food : on the surface the connection is not evident, but it is there none the less. As Christianity weakened or disappeared in large areas of Europe, as the mass of men lost their hold on heaven, almost at the same moment they lost their hold on the earth. They ceased to own any portion of the earth's surface, even the houses in which they dwelt. In earlier times almost every family owned a house, and usually had some rights in land to boot. Nowadays this state of things has become the exception. Men's tenure of land is as transitory and unreal as the same men deem their tenure of eternal life to be. Property, in quite excessive quantities, has become the privilege of a small and unlovely class. The mass of mankind is shut out from its pleasures, its responsibilities, its securities. Small wonder if the masses have turned socialist or communist and demanded the abolition of property altogether. Readers of Belloc's *Servile State* or Chesterton's *History of England* will be familiar with the social phenomenon here alluded to. The late Professor Kettle, for whom Chesterton had a high admiration, once

said in a happy phrase that "if property is good for anybody, it's good for everybody." Stated as a principle of action, this is roughly the creed of the Chesterbellocian. The settlement founded upon robbery, usury and the Reformation must be undone, and the pleasures and responsibilities of property given back to the mass of human beings. Chesterbellocians like to point to Ireland in which, through the operation of the Land Acts—and, I might add, still more in recent times through the working of the Land Settlement Commission—the movement for restoring ownership of the land to the mass of the people has already made great headway, an example to the less Christian countries that surround it. No doubt, as Archbishop Croke said of the operation of the Land Commission, you can't have an omelet without breaking eggs. That extreme "humanitarianism" which recoils before the breaking of an egg, a potential hen, is not Chesterbellocian doctrine, and it certainly wasn't mediæval Christianity.

Property naturally leads to gaiety; in reasonable measure it is a solid foundation for the saner joys of life. Nominally the present age is devoted to pleasure. Its ends are self-regarding, and it has abolished the austerities of monasticism or even of the mediæval laity. People are being encouraged to shirk the discomforts imposed by nature on the rearing of offspring and the like. And what is the result of all this? Gloom and despair; everywhere a philosophy of pessimism. A French minister once boasted that he had put out the lights of heaven. That is impossible. But you can do the next best thing. You can shut them out. You can confine humanity, or an important part of it, in a drawing-room or a dungeon from which as it were the illumination of heaven is excluded, and persuade men or force them to pass their days in darkness or beneath an artificial flare. In such an existence the soul withers and dries up, as the organism of the body would in like circumstances. Tristan in Wagner, the drugged victim of a morbid passion, cries out against

sunlight and in unnatural ecstasy longs for black night. Not different is the world of Viviani, from which fresh air and joy and heaven's cleansing, blistering sun are excluded, and all is unhealth and misery.

In the modern world asceticism is confined to athletes. The connection is more than etymological. It is only the athlete who understands that mortification is the mother of joy, a joy that has its feasts as well as its fasts ; for the Chesterbellocian by no means pictures a world of gloom. The blackness of Calvinism or of Jansenism is beyond all things abhorrent to him. He visions a world no more plunged in gloom than a football team or a rowing crew, a world of light and colour and varied healthy movement, not afraid of sweat or mud or fatigue or a wetting, but very happy through the whole of it, a world where each man works in his place—he has a place—thinking not of himself but of the whole. For egomania is own sister to pessimism as duty is brother to joy.

This call for joyousness and contempt for artificial despair is one of the most prominent doctrines of the Chesterbellocian creed. *The Man who was Thursday*, for instance, is nothing else but a demand for the life joyous ; I am sure many reading it have thought it pure folly. You will find the same idea in a more veiled form running through the "Fr. Brown" detective stories. *Manalive* is, of course, the extreme embodiment of the doctrine. Swinburne had spoken of the "Pale Nazarene," and attacked the greyness of Christianity. Perhaps he was thinking of those forms of Christianity with which he was most conversant. Chesterton replies that all the colour is on the Christian side. The bright-hued middle ages are past. But even to-day, at which would you get the more colour—at a Catholic religious ceremonial or at a meeting of a rationalist society ? And in this case the outer things are truly the symbol of the inner things. For there are no colours so bright in the world as the colours of a healthy soul ; the dirty greyness of modern existence for so large

a part of human beings springs directly from unhealth of soul and death of the spirit. Let there be fasting, then, and let there be joy.

And now I come to a part of the subject where I must tread warily, being in deep disagreement with my two prophets. No part of the creed of Chesterton and Belloc is better known than their attitude towards strong drink both in theory and in practice. Here they are not satisfied to shout, they must needs sing ; their attitude is all doggy-bark, and they yeowl at the pussy-foots from every tavern in England, not to speak of French *cafés* and Italian wine-shops. Total abstinence they proclaim the sign not of a Christian but of a Mohammedan. No one has ever accused either of them in this respect at any rate of not practising what they preach. Now there is this element of truth in their contention that Christianity, complete Christianity, is the only religion that seems to have made a success of the use of alcoholic liquor. Only in fully Christian countries like Spain and Italy and the old-time France do we find the use of alcohol without its abuse. In those countries, on the other hand, where the civilisation is that of a weakened Christianity or no Christianity at all —in northern France, in England, especially in Scotland, in America, even in Ireland, where the predominant type of civilisation, in the towns at least, is non-Catholic— the use of alcohol has been inseparable from the practice of women fuddling themselves in drinking bars and the other horrors with which we are all familiar. Total abstinence, of which the logical complement is complete prohibition, is found the only remedy. For many centuries complete prohibition has been the law in most non-Christian countries. The greatest of the Protestant countries has recently adopted it. The revolt now rising against it will probally be suppressed. In the not distant future it will not improbably be adopted in Scotland, England, possibly Ireland and other areas where the Protestant type of civilisation prevails. Whether countries like

France, that have what I may call an ex-Christian type of civilisation, will adopt it, though their need for it is almost as great, is far more doubtful. One may say this much for the Chesterton point of view, that if Christian civilisation could be re-established in Northern Europe or established in America, in that case it might be possible, as in Spain or Italy, to dissociate alcohol from evil, and total abstinence would become unnecessary. In the meantime we may perhaps agree with Chesterton and Belloc to this extent—that restraints on the selling of intoxicating liquor, *short* of total prohibition, and movements that aim at securing them are somewhat ridiculous. Lenin and Pussyfoot respectively have made all ordinary socialists and temperance reformers look a little absurd.

The last element of the Chesterbellocian doctrine, as it were the conclusion of its premises, is sanity. In a well-ordered world the social system provides the essentials for bodily health and normal virtue, the moral system secures that they are availed of; the result is happiness and mental health. But, as Chesterton puts it, a man in our day often gains the reputation of being a very sensible and rational person by passing perpetually from one form of insanity to another. This is especially the case since the coming of newspapers to urge us to madness. To-day this man is going in for missing-word competitions, to-morrow playing ping-pong, the day after composing Limericks, the next day buying rubber shares, or learning to dance the "camel-walk"—the forms of lunacy are sufficiently varied. And the normality of madness is not confined to matters like these. At one end of the musical scale people want to play the waltz in *Faust* in ragtime or syncopate the *Adeste Fideles*; at a higher altitude you're fossilized and a nobody unless you give your admiration to the corrupt music of *Electra* and *Salome*. It is now a quarter of a century since Nordau attacked the angularities of modern thought—an exaggerated attack no doubt—in his *Degeneration*.

But the thing is not confined to very modern times. Fashions are quite as strong in other things as in ladies' dresses. Thought and literature, if they are to prevail, must in one age appear in crinolines—I instance Cicero—and in another in hobble skirts. At a particular period a wave of gloomy predestination sweeps over the world. In the nineteenth century men's minds were entraved by evolution. Why is it that since the time of Descartes philosophy seeking to enter the house of wisdom has found itself involved in an unseemly dispute with the hall-porter and never been able to get inside? The answer is the same as in the case of hobble and crinoline—fashion, nothing else.

Meanwhile the really sane man is in the position of one unjustly confined in an asylum, who to the rest appears insane. Belloc and Chesterton, especially the latter, had like Shaw to feign madness in order to get a hearing at all. Innumerable people look on them as at least highly eccentric, worse than Bernard Shaw, because their writings do not accept the current insanities of the pictures and the press. "I don't read," they tell you, "nonsense of that sort." "Give me *The Daily Telegraph*," they tell you, or perhaps it is *John Bull* or *Answers*. Not, indeed, that one need claim a perfect sanity for either writer. They share in the world in which they live, and must perforce share in its weaknesses. In war-time (as we have remarked) they were madder than anybody else. With Belloc's views about the Jews, I deal elsewhere. But they assert, and in my opinion justly assert, that their system, which is no more than the old Christian system, aims at sanity; that, could they realise their ends, civilisation would be sound at the core and the mass of men—reasonably housed, clothed and fed, and having the possibility of normal self-respect—would have healthy minds in healthy bodies. For the end of citizenship is sanity, as the end of saintliness is salvation. And citizenship is the guardian of holiness, as holiness is the first requisite of sanity.

A. E. Clery.

ANIMA CORPORIS PRAEDA

IT was a marble statue
That in a garden stood,
Pale in the bay-green shadows—
A winged god.

With eyes raised and hands raised
And two spread pinions dight,
He seemed to long to wander
Up to the heavenly night.

But the lords of the garden
Went to a far country;
And the wind came with ruin,
The rain with misery.

Black ivy crushed the birchtrees;
With briars wild
The paths and flower-borders
Were all defiled.

The days passed and the years passed;
Time, like a faltering dream,
Bore hope and sorrow from all things
In the same stream.

The moon-white limbs of the fair god
Grew green and tempest-worn,
And to his knees the thistle crept
And to his wings the thorn.

Around his head in springtime
Wild roses had their birth,
And piled by many seasons
His feet were whelmed in earth.

But still his hands and pinions
  Strained from the wilderness,
And his sweet eyes strove upward
  In hopeless longingness.

So there were tears in heaven
  That the earth held her prey;
At last the sight of the wandering stars
  From the god was borne away.

And song of other thrushes
  Now rings over other blooms;
Forgotten now the grave of the god
  That stood in the bay-green glooms.

ARTHUR LITTLE.

THE SILVER CUP

(*Adaptation from the Irish*)

HEAVY the drouth on bird and beast and bee;
The sun is splitting the white world beneath:
My thought, outspreading like a ripple ring
Around this lonely refuge of my choice,
Flows through the blackbird wood, that is a voice
Of showery song about my wattled cell,
Seeking out the fair drinking-cup the King
With his bright slender fingers set aswing
For travellers, above the little well,
In delicate shadow near the quicken tree . . .
The cool green-silver of the cup is dim
With a sweet breath of mist, and one by one
Tears of pure crystal dripping from the rim
Tell the compassion of the Virgin's Son.

CAITLÍN NÍC GIOLLA CHÍOSC.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS

XX.—A Religious Poem

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, PH.D.

The following poem is edited from the copy in the O'Conor Don's Book, the only one known to me. It is anonymous in the MS., and there is nothing in the language or the subject to fix the date. For the theological view, fairly common in bardic poetry, implied in quatrains 8 and 9, see Father McKenna's introduction to the poems of Aonghus O Dálaigh.

It is a very musical example of the metre called *dechnad mór*, and the strictness of the metre enables one to emend most of the faulty readings of the MS. However, in two quatrains at least such drastic changes are required that I cannot claim to have restored the original text.

1. Labhair linn,[1] a Mhuire Mháthar,
suidhigh[2] sinn sa rícheadh,[3]
ná tar[4] am aghaidh lem fhéichemh,[5]
labhair damh fad dícheal.

2. Léig[6] an freagra as fhearr red t'fagháil
leam[7] ar eagla an ainiúil;
sinn ar n-ég dhuit nábadh doiléir,[8]
a chruit na ttéd ttaidhiúir.[9]

3. Do bhaoi[10] do dhaonnacht fam Dhia-sa
ad naomhchorp naoi míosa;
as tú an t-ionadh fhuair na grása,
a thruaill iodhan Iosa.

4. Beir m'anam, a Ogh, ó shechrán,
ná labhair glór guthchlaon;
saor mé mar nach dual óm dhrochrún,
a ghruadh[11] ar ghné[12] subhchraobh.

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[1] liom. [2] -idh. [3] ríghthegh no richegh. [4] tarr. [5] fheithemh. [6] Léigh. [7] liom. [8] doilleir. [9] ttaighiúir. [10] bhí. [11] ghruaidh. [12] ghné na.

5. Saor mo mhóid agus mo mhionna,
a Ogh gan bhaos mbanna ;
cuid dod thréd gan innremh[1] orra,
fég, a inghen Anna.

6. Ná léig mo locht d'agra ar m'anmain,[2]
olc tagra gan torbhaidh,[3]
a ghruaidh mar ghréin, a ghnúis suilbhir,
mo chúis féin go bfolchair.

7. Acht an té do dhealbh na dúile,
dearbh lem chéill nach cuala[4]
leth do mhíorbhal a ndúil daonna,
a úir bhríoghmhar bhúadha.

8. Bí dom dhíon ar áis no ar éigin
ar cháir[5] Chríosd má fhédair[6] ;
bíom ar do sgáth, a sgiath dídin,[7]
a ttráth a fhiach d'fhégain.[8]

9. Os egail lem Luan an chíosa
um chenn, cruaidh an cása,
an chroch dherg agus[9] ég Iosa,
do Leanb brég an lása.

10. Ar ndódh leis[10] an saoghal sédmhar,
mór[11] baoghal na mbréigfhleadh,
mairg chleachtas an t-ól, a Oigbhean,[12]
a Ogh dhearcghlas dhéidgheal.

11. A chruth fial, a ghnúis as gile,
rug tú Dia 'na dhuine,
fagh mo dhírgheadh[13] uadh as m'fhaire.
th'Uan míngheal, a Mhuire.

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[1] ionnramh. [2] anam. [3] turbhaidh. [4] ccúala. [5] choir. [6] fhéda.
[7] dhíona. [8] ar bfiach dféugha. [9] as. [10] Ar ndul as. [11] as mór.
[12] an toil óghbhan. [13] dhiorgadh.

12. Fuair an Ogh oiread na[1] páisi,
Moire[2] ger mór[3] sgíosa,
is Mac Dé san úaidh dá héisi,
sa gruaidh mar ghné gríosa.

13. A mhaoir Iosa, a aingil iodhain,
sgaoil m'ainimh san fhalaidh,[4]
saor sinn ó dhíchéill an domhain,[5]
a Mhíchéil,[6] linn labhair. Labhair.

[1] *om.* [2] muire. [3] mor a. [4] mainibh as an bfaluigh. [5] dithchil iodhan [6] mhichil.

Translation.

1. Speak on my behalf, O Mother Mary; place me in heaven; come not against me with my Accuser; speak for me with all thy might.
2. Answer me so that I may most surely reach thee, lest I go astray; let not my death be unseen by thee, O harp of tuneful strings.
3. Thy humanity surrounded my God in thy sacred body for nine months; thou art the place that found favour, O pure sheath of Jesus.
4. Bear my soul, O Virgin, from error; utter no partial voice; save me, as I deserve not, from my evil disposition, O cheek of the hue of the berry.
5. Save my vow and my oath, O Virgin free from woman's folly; look, O daughter of Anna, upon part of thy flock without guidance.
6. Suffer not my sin to be charged against my soul—it is an ill plea where there is no exemption—O cheek like the sun, O smiling face, mayest thou support my cause.
7. Save Him who formed the elements, my mind is sure that I have not heard of half thy miracles in a human creature, O mighty soil of virtue.
8. Defend me by consent or force against Christ's claim, if thou canst; let me be under thy shelter, O protecting shield, when His dues are considered.
9. As I dread that on the Monday[1] of the Tribute—a hard case—the red Cross and the death of Jesus will confront me, beguile thy Child on that day.
10. When with the world and its riches the mock banquets have been consumed by fire, great is the danger of them; woe to him who practises drinking, O Maiden, O Virgin bright-eyed and white-toothed.
11. O noble form, O brightest face, thou didst bear God as Man; win from thy white Lamb, O Mary, my direction and my guard.
12. The Virgin Mary suffered as much as the Passion—though great was the agony—while God's Son was in the grave after it, and her cheek red as embers.
13. O steward of Jesus, pure angel, remove my blemish in the quarrel; set me free from the folly of the world; Michael, speak on my behalf.

Osborn Bergin.

[1] That is, the Day of Judgment, which is always considered to be a Monday in Irish literature.

POLAND: THE NEW MILITARY POWER

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL J. J. O'CONNELL, M.A.

WE have not yet quite got used to the new world-conditions arising out of the World War, although it is now four years since that struggle terminated. Still gradually certain facts more definite than the rest are singling themselves out for attention and holding our notice. One of the facts is the emergence of the State of Poland and its mingling more and more with the life of Western Europe. We must remember that Poland always wanted to belong to Western Europe; only force and international injustice kept her bound to the East. She had nothing in common with Russia—neither language, nor religion, nor institutions. Moreover, we should bear in mind that in point of distance Warsaw is practically as near to Paris as to Moscow. Modern technical science—railways, wireless, aircraft—all tend to bring Poland more and more westward; so that it would seem probable that we shall not lose her again. It is the purpose of the present article to study the military influence on future world problems of this new arrival among the European Powers.

Few of us in Ireland realise what a considerable country is Poland. With over 150,000 square miles and over 25 millions of people, it is more than five times as big and as populous as our own country.[1] Warsaw, the capital, contains nearly a million inhabitants, and seven or eight other cities reach the hundred thousand mark. The annual increase in population is about half a million, and there are approximately four million citizens of

[1] More recent information (*Annuaire Français*, 1922) gives the total Polish population—including Polish Lithuania—at very close on 28 millions.

Polish race in the United States. The country further possesses great natural resources of every kind—agricultural, mineral, and industrial—and with good organisation could be made in the main self-supporting. Poland as an independent State must in this respect be sharply differentiated from Poland as a province of badly organised Russia. The main wealth of the country consists of agricultural produce, forests, salt-mines and petrol deposits. There is also the industrial region of Upper Silesia, part of which went to Poland by the 1921 Plebiscite.

Poland, in size, population, homogeneity of population, and natural wealth, is considerably the most important of all the new States formed or added to by the World War. She is also the most important in respect of her position—lying between Germany and Russia, the two most populous countries in Europe. For all these reasons Poland is certain to come more and more into prominence ; for her present circumstances are a revival, in a new form, of the old problem of the Polish Kingdom : how to maintain its position against powerful neighbours, neither of whom is friendly—as they never were in former times.

The analogy is further borne out by the fact that the new Poland, like the old, is the friend of France. In fact, in one sense Poland fulfils towards France the rôle formerly belonging to Russia—the ally in the rear of Germany. But the problem is complicated in that Poland—unlike Russia—has also an enemy in the rear, that enemy being no other than Russia. Thus it is that inevitably Poland is a factor in every question concerning France, Germany, or Russia ; and without some understanding of the military strength of Poland it is not possible to form any sort of an accurate estimate of the international situations arising.

In a secondary way the smaller European states are concerned on the two flanks of Poland. The northern group consists of the Baltic States—Esthonia, Latvia, and

Lithuania ; the southern group of Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania. We may say off-hand that most likely none of these States would side with Germany or Russia as against Poland ; and in this respect the new Poland is better off than the old kingdom. The latter, instead of small neutrally-minded States, had to deal with a third hostile State in the old Austrian Empire.

The question, therefore, narrows down to this : the ability or otherwise of the Poles to wage a war on two fronts. In such a war they would in all probability have allies, but we shall endeavour to consider the matter intrinsically and apart from any question of alliances. The treatment will fall naturally into three sections, of which the first will deal with the topography of the Polish frontiers, the second with the Polish Army, and the third with the possible military action of the Polish High Command.

THE FRONTIERS : (*a*) THE POLISH-RUSSIAN FRONTIER.

It will be remembered that from September, 1915, until the break-up of Russia—a period of two years—the Austro-German armies in the East held practically the same front all the time. One reason why this line was successfully held was that it was the shortest and strongest line to be found in the East. Now the Russian frontier of Poland is practically the old German line " enlarged and improved " by certain additions. These additions are in the form of either natural features of defensive value or railway junctions.

Examining the frontier from right (Polish right) to left, we find it begins on the Dniester above Chotin. A turning movement by this flank is unlikely, because such a movement would have to cross Rumanian territory for seventy miles, and then would find itself up against the Carpathians—the great defensive strength of which system was abundantly proved in the fierce battles of February-March-April 1915.

The frontier proper measures about 500 miles as the crow flies, and falls into three equal sectors : the first from the Dniester to the Brest-Litevsk-Rovno-Berdicheff railway ; the second from the latter to the Brest-Litevsk-Baranovichi-Minsk railway ; and the third from that to the Dwina, east of Dvinsk. This river is a big obstacle, and any flank movement here in the North would further have to take account of the Baltic States, whose neutrality it might not be good policy, from the Russian point of view, to violate.

From the point of view of serious operations the middle sector of the frontier need not be considered. It coincides with the famous Pinsk Marshes around the Pripet basin—also known as Polesia. This vast tract is a single wooded swamp, thinly inhabited, without supplies, largely roadless. As it much exceeds Ireland in area, it is evidently an insuperable military obstacle. In point of fact all invasions of Poland or Russia have passed either to the north or to the south of this expanse.

In the southern sector, from the Dniester northwards, the river Zbrucz forms the frontier for its entire course. In rear of this river are the further tributaries—Sereth, Strypa, Zlota Lipa, and Swirz—while from Halicz to the frontier the Dneister itself trends in a direction favourable for defence. The masterly defensive fighting of Count Bothmer against Brusiloff in 1916 will for ever serve as a model for the defence of this part of the frontier—using the successive river-lines. North of this area of parallel rivers is an undulating tract in the Brody-Tarnopol area, with a low but pronounced spur east of Radzivilov. In such level terrain these elevations are invaluable for observation purposes. Northward still the Vilia stream flowing into the Pripet forms the boundary. Altogether this is the weakest part of the front ; but as will have been seen, it is not wholly devoid of features capable of being turned to profit.

The northern sector, from the marshes to the Dwina,

is very intricate—a pattern of marshy streams, lakes, and forests. It is nearly as difficult as the Polesia ; but it is far more populous, and is much better provided with communications in the way of roads and railways. This, however, cuts both ways, and the Polish railways are here superior to the Russian.

(*b*) The Polish-German Frontier.

The German-Polish frontier has seen no fighting since the time of Frederick the Great, when it saw nothing else. Carlyle has given an extraordinarily vivid picture of the terrain, which has not changed much in general characters. Low-lying, undulating sandhills alternate with lakes, swamps, and meadows cut up by streams running through marshy beds. The soil is a deep sand, forming mud after rains. Upon the whole the ground is not unlike that on the Russian front ; but distances are shorter, towns and cities more numerous and more industrialised, roads and railways more plentiful. There is a single hilly region, well-wooded ; this, around the sources of the Warthe, north-west of Krakow, is of great defensive value for South-Western Poland.

Like the eastern frontier, the western also falls into three well-defined sectors : the Polish corridor from Thorn to the Baltic Sea, measuring 120 miles as the crow flies ; the Posen salient in the centre, with a base of 120 miles and a frontier trace of twice as long ; the Silesian frontier in the south-west, also about 120 miles in a straight line. For the present it will simplify matters if we omit consideration of East Prussia—an island of German territory surrounded on three sides by Poland and on the fourth by the Baltic Sea.

Taken by itself the Polish corridor is defensible to a marked degree. The region consists of the broad expanse of the Tucheler Heide—a wide waste backed by the mighty volume of the Vistula, where the defence could be strongly based on Thorn. The loss of this corridor and

its communications results in German offensive power being here far inferior to what it was in 1914.

The Posen salient is a strong natural outwork, affording two successive lines of defence. The first is the frontier line itself, the second a line of which Posen, the city, is the centre. The outer line from right to left consists of the marshy valley of the Netze along the northern side of the salient, then the system of marshy lakes connecting the basins of the rivers Netze, Warthe, Obra, and Oder—of enormous defensive value along the western and southern faces of the salient. The second line along the middle Warthe by Obernik-Posen-Schrimm is only forty miles in rear, only half as long, and covers all essential territory. A third line, capable of being used in an emergency, follows the old Russo-German frontier.

The Silesian sector received by the 1921 Plebiscite a bulwark of great strength—the wooded hills around Lublinitz and Tarnowitz, and the marshy forests of the Malapane basin. This tract, with the Upper Vistula and its affluents and the Carpathian foothills, gives a firm support to the left flank. The marshy valley of the Bartsch—next to the Posen salient—further narrows the attackable extent of front. The most vulnerable part is that between Kalish and Czenstochova.

It is clear that the Polish frontiers—both in West and East—have certain defensive possibilities, even though they have no really outstanding bulwark like the Pyrenees, for example. If the Polish Staff studies them exhaustively and organises them in peace times—as presumably, under French guidance, it will—there is no reason to think that their over-running would prove a rapid or an easy task.

The Polish Army.

What sort is the instrument upon which the Polish Staff depends? What is approximately the intrinsic military power of Poland? A rough idea may be formed

by remembering that numerically the Polish Army is the same size as the Italian, and nearly as big as the present Japanese or the former Austro-Hungarian army. Moreover, the Poles have at all times been excellent soldiers, and it is reasonable to assume that they will improve steadily as time goes on. Indeed, the improvement is already noticeable, and the Polish Army of to-day is considerably superior to that which defeated the Russians two years ago.

At that time the Polish Army was a very mixed affair indeed—disbanded soldiers of the former Russian, German, and Austrian armies, auxiliary forces of Ruthenians and Lithuanians, Haller's miscellaneous force organised in France. The present army consists of men of the 1899 and 1900 classes, who at least had not anything wrong to unlearn. And in the two years intervening since the Russian war the French Mission—five hundred officers under, first, General Weygand, and later General Niessel—had achieved much in the way of organising command, cadres, and instruction.

During 1921 really important progress was made: officers of all grades went through courses of instruction, schools of instruction for officers and N.C.O.'s were established, training manuals in the Polish language were issued in several arms. Finally—and most important from the point of view of unified administration and doctrine—a Staff College was established at Warsaw. The official organ of the Polish Staff, a monthly review with the somewhat suggestive name of *Bellona*, is already an authoritative publication on technical subjects.

The numerical strength of the Polish Army is about 18,000 officers and 260,000 men—30 infantry divisions of 3 regiments each and 10 cavalry brigades of 3 regiments each. There are 10 other regiments of mounted chasseurs, destined to be attached to the infantry divisions. This gives a total of 90 infantry regiments and 40 cavalry regi-

ments. This enormous proportion of cavalry is significant : Poland, ever since the time of Attila, has been *the* terrain *par excellence* of the horseman. So it proved in the World War and later in the Russo-Polish war of 1920. From our account of the frontiers it will be gathered that a good and numerous cavalry would go a long way towards solving the strategic problems involved ; and in this connexion it is instructive to find that the French organisers are loud in their praise of the Polish regiments.

In the other arms, including the most up-to-date and technical, the Polish Army is also well provided. The Artillery consists of 435 batteries of all calibres, including the heaviest ; and there are 10 Engineer regiments, each of 3 battalions. In addition there are 3 Tank battalions, an Air Corps of 3 regiments and 5 Balloon battalions, 3 " Liaison " or Signal regiments, 3 regiments of railway troops, and 10 groups of motor transports. In short, Poland possesses an army fulfilling all the requirements of a modern first-class Power—or is at least well on the way towards fulfilling them.

The national territory is divided into 10 territorial areas, the headquarters of which (Army Corps) are situated in former Corps Headquarters of the Russian, German, or Austro-Hungarian armies. The distribution of these headquarters is very favourable. Three of them—Thorn, Posen, and Krakow—are suitably placed to cover the German frontier ; three more—Vilna, Brest-Litevsk, and Lemberg—are similarly placed on the Russian front ; in between there is a central " Masse de Manoeuvre " of the strength of four corps at Warsaw, Lodz, Lublin and Przemysl respectively.

A Polish Double-front War.

As the greater contains the less, it follows that if the Polish Staff can arrive at some workable plan dealing with the conduct of simultaneous operations against Russia and

Germany, *ipso facto* any less serious contingency is provided for. Nor is even the more serious problem absolutely insoluble, as is evident when it is remembered how long Frederick the Great successfully defied more powerful states in alliance against him. And indeed, on all counts, the campaigns of Frederick are deserving of the most careful study of the Polish Staff. In fact, the first requisite for successful war on the part of Poland is confidence : a country nearly as extensive as France cannot be marched over and destroyed in a day or a week, even if no effort has been made to organise it, much less if it has a powerful army.

This is so even when the opponents are numerically more formidable : there is a certain absolute standard of resisting power in large homogeneous states. In the case of Poland the distance between fronts is one factor in this resistance—the Russian and German armies would be separated by a distance of 400 to 500 miles. This is an ample zone for manoeuvring great masses ; and the railway facilities for operating the masses in question also exist. Before the World War Poland had a better railway network than any other part of Russia, and this has been improved during and since the war. A very good system exists in the territory recovered from Germany—Posen West Prussia and Silesia ; and in the old Galician territory is the best shuttle line in Poland—the Karl-Ludwig Bahn, via Krakow—Tarnow—Jaroslav—Przemysl—Lemberg, and the secondary line along the Carpathian foothills from Saybush to Stanislau. Altogether the Polish railway system embraces over 8,000 miles—a scale not at all as dense as that of France, for example, yet still ample to meet any conceivable transport requirements if properly utilised.[1]

[1] Later information (*Manchester Guardian Supplement :* "Reconstruction in Europe") gives the Polish railway mileage at about 10,000 miles. In point of fact the network is on the average nearly as dense as in Western Europe—with this difference, that most of the lines are single-track. Only some 30 per cent. of the Polish lines are double-track.

What are the strategical ideas of the Polish Staff we cannot, of course, tell; but there are indications—articles in *Bellona*, for instance—of an attempt to manœuvre on the defensive in the East with inferior numbers. This would be possibly on the lines of the 1920 fighting, but without falling back so far as on that occasion. This theatre, indeed, seems to offer good hopes for success by well-handled inferior forces; and the Poles seem well advised to adopt such strategy, leaving free against Germany the great bulk of their forces. Because Germany—much the more industrialised enemy—is to that extent the more formidable of the two.

According to Marshal Foch, "the weaker one is, the more necessary it is to attack," and the Poles should remember this against Germany. Moreover, there is a definite, limited offensive operation of great promise open to them—quite apart from such obvious and almost tactical precautions as seizing railway junctions like Schneidemuhl, Kreuz and Meseritz. The operation in question is a determined invasion of Silesia—that long tongue of German territory extending in a south-easterly direction between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. This tongue is 160 miles long, only 60 wide, and of huge industrial value to Germany. Even now much of the industrial region can be taken under Polish cannon-fire; and even a quite partial success would give remarkable results. A complete success would open up all central Germany to invasion by the most open route. The Posen salient would serve for a flank-guard to the operation.

The exact importance of East Prussia requires to be calculated. By itself this territory is too small and too poor to constitute a serious menace to Warsaw from the North: the prolonged defence of the Russians of the Narew-Bobr line in 1914-1915 will be recalled. And East Prussia can never be other than an isolated territory while the Polish corridor is held by the Poles, or if—the Polish forces evacuating it—the communications across it are

completely destroyed. On the other hand, East Prussia offers to the Poles an enticing secondary objective—to be tackled in the event of a definite victory in Silesia.

It remains to mention a few local preventive offensives possible on the Russian frontier—the seizure of the railway junctions of Polotsk-Minsk-Scheptovka-Proskurov, all within striking distance of the frontier ; and the loss of which would very seriously hamper the Russian strategic deployment.

Conclusion.

It will be clear from the foregoing that when the bogey of a Russo-German Bolshevik alliance sweeping over Europe is raised, all the factors are not considered. First of all Poland must be swept over, and we have seen this young, and yet old, nation manfully girding its loins for its task. And we have heard its Military Staff answering the question : " In this part of Europe only the fittest can survive ? Well then, we have got to be the fittest, that's all."[1] Under wise direction a people at once numerous, homogeneous, and patriotic can guarantee itself a fitting place in the world in due course : it need not be too downcast by an adverse rate of monetary exchange. Poland has come back into Western Europe, and as far as we can judge she has come to stay there.

J. J. O'Connell.

[1] When in London last September General Sikorski, Chief of the Polish General Staff, granted a special interview to a representative of the *Sunday Times*. In the course of this interview he indicated the part to be played by the Army in the regeneration of the Polish State :—" A new type of Pole has to be created, for we are a new nation, and we have much to get rid of. A hundred and fifty years of foreign domination have left their mark, a mark that we would like to efface. The army, in my opinion, is the medium through which we can efface this mark, and gradually build up a new State, physically and morally. . . . We have still a lot to do, but we can point to constant and steady progress towards the consolidating of our State, and I have the most profound conviction that my country will in the near future play a leading part as a barrier for Western civilisation against destructive influences from the East."

General Sikorski had come to England on the invitation of Lord Cavan, Chief of the British General Staff. He had already, by special invitation, assisted at the French Autumn Manoeuvres. All this is significant of the superior international status conceded to Poland in the military sphere. No other of the new states was accorded an equal measure of prestige. General Sikorski had distinguished himself in the operations of 1920 against the Russians. It was he, as Commander of the Fifth Army, who administered the *coup de grâce* to the Bolsheviks.

THE CRUCIFIX OF LIMPIAS.[1]

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

NEVER, perhaps, has so curious a problem perplexed the student of the psychology of crowds as that of the manifestations which, it is alleged, have for the last three years been taking place in the little town of Limpias, not far from Santander, in the north of Spain. The very beautiful wooden crucifix, fully life-size, which surmounts the high-altar of the parish church, was seen on March 30, 1919, the last day of a mission given by two Capuchin Fathers, to move its eyes and to be covered by a moisture like perspiration; while other phenomena still more strange were observed later.

The movement of the eyes was first perceived by a little girl, about twelve years of age, when a sermon was being preached by one of the missioners.[2] What she saw impressed her so much that she could not restrain herself, but before the discourse had come to an end she went up to tell the other missionary Father of what was happening. He ridiculed the idea, but other children corroborated the description she gave. Then a man in the crowd saw the same, and several more adults not only agreed, but went on to declare that the face and neck of the crucifix were covered with moisture or, as they said, were sweating. The Capuchin Fathers themselves, how-

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[1] *The Wonderful Crucifix of Limpias.* By the Rev. Baron von Kleist, S.T.D. Translated from the German by E. F. Reeve. (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 1922. 2*s.* 6*d.*).

[2] The account of this movement given by Father Kleist does not quite accord with the more authoritative narrative presented in the book of the Capuchin, Andrès de Palazuelo, *El Santo Cristo de la Agonia de Limpias.* (Madrid, 1920, pp. 100-101). I have preferred to follow the latter version.

ever, could see nothing of this movement of the eyes, and the majority of those present were equally unconvinced. But the rumour of the "miracle" stirred the whole assembly, and a scene of intense religious emotion followed. A considerable number of persons were persuaded that they had perceived the movement of the eyes. It is, therefore, not surprising that three days later, on April 2nd, the parish priest, Don Eduardo Miqueli, thought it his duty to send an account of the occurrence to his diocesan, the Bishop of Santander. In this letter he wrote :—

> While I was still in the sacristy after Mass . . . one of the Capuchin Fathers informed me that several children, women and men, and not exactly the most devout, asserted that the Santo Cristo de la Agonia was opening and closing its eyes, turning its gaze from side to side, and was bathed in perspiration on the neck and breast—all of which was making a deep impression on the people. . . . When I went back into the church, the astounding event was already over, but men of all classes swore that they had seen it, and even declared themselves ready to swear to it before the Sacred Host.[1]

As representatives of a much larger number of witnesses, two children, two ladies, two workmen, and two gentlemen of independent means (*proprietarios*) were allowed to depose on oath to what they had seen, and their names were sent to the bishop.[2] The parish priest further declared that he had pronounced no opinion upon the miraculous nature of the occurrence, but on the other hand had not denied its possibility. One may note that it is not a little curious, in view of the prevailing excitement and the subsequent developments, that after this manifestation on the early morning of March 30th, nothing further was observed (though numbers visited the church) until a fortnight later, and it was only after the beginning of May that the repetition of these marvellous appearances became of frequent, if not daily, occurrence. Though

[1] Kleist, pp. 11-12. [2] Palazuelo, p. 129.

stories are told of a few individuals or small parties of visitors who in the last days of April were favoured, so to speak privately and without any public sensation, it was only after the pilgrimage from Santander of 1,500 people in two special trains on May 4th, when triumphal arches were erected, bells rung, maroons discharged and an immense excitement created, that a renewal of the manifestations began to be observed on a large scale. At the same time the range of the phenomena perceived was extended, and endless discussions in the local newspapers attracted universal attention to the subject. During the summer and autumn of 1919, the concourse of people to Limpias, some coming privately in motor cars, others by train in organised pilgrimages, was immense, and the vogue still continues down to the present time. Father Kleist says that whereas formerly at the ticket-office in Limpias 40 to 50 pesetas at most were taken *per diem*, now the daily receipts fluctuate between 1,500 and 12,000 pesetas (*i.e.*, £60 to £480). The parish priest estimates the number of visitors at 3,000 or 4,000 a day, and it appears that from the beginning of the manifestations down to July, 1921, 26,000 Masses were said in the little town.

To quote in any detail from the innumerable accounts given by the pilgrims of what their eyes have seen in gazing at the wonderful crucifix would be impossible here. Father Kleist sums up the general purport of the depositions, many of them made upon oath, in the following words :—

> Many said that the Saviour looked at them—at some in a kindly manner, at others gravely, and at yet others with a penetrating and stern glance. Many of them saw tears in His eyes ; others noticed that drops of blood ran down from the temples pierced by the crown of thorns ; some saw froth on His lips and sweat on His body ; others again saw how He turned His head from side to side and let His gaze pass over the whole assembly of people ; or how at the Benediction He made a movement of the eyes as if giving

the blessing; how at the same time He moved the thorn-crowned head from one side to the other. Others had the impression that a deep, submissive sigh was wrested from His breast; some believed they saw Him whisper—in short the most varied manifestations were discerned in this crucifix.[1]

There certainly can be no doubt that the statements of hundreds of eye-witnesses, made with every sign of honest conviction—many of them emanating from people of education, good position and sceptical antecedents, with no possible motive for insincerity—bear out this description in all its details. I have read carefully many such testimonies, not only the large collection brought together in Father Kleist's own book, but also those contained in the work already mentioned of Father Andrès de Palazuelo, in the early compilation of T. M. A.,[2] in the series of articles by Father Ugarte de Ercilla in *Razón y Fe*, and in similar articles by Father Urbano and Doctor Rubio Cercas in the Dominican periodical *La Ciencia Tomista*. The language of some of the witnesses is rather hysterical, but there is a large residuum of perfectly sober statements, not a few made by medical men whose own eyes had been as completely enthralled by the spectacle they beheld in the crucifix as those of their less scientific neighbours. If I may sum up in a few paragraphs the impression derived from my study of the evidence, the points which seem to me to stand out most clearly are the following:—

1. There can be no reasonable doubt that an immense number of people are convinced that they have seen the countenance of Christ transfigured. They have beheld movement and life not only in the eyes—it should be noticed that these are of china or porcelain—but also in the carved wooden features and bust. Moreover in the

[1] Kleist, p. 14. I borrow here and elsewhere the translation in the book before me. The version is readable; but, as the reader will perceive, it has not the ease of a well-written original work.

[2] This is called *Los Frutos de una Misión* (pp. 250). It was printed by the Propaganda Católica Press of Santander in 1919.

case of a considerable number of witnesses—some of these being amongst the most highly educated—they have seen the face of our Saviour pass successively through all the stages of the death agony.

2. There is satisfactory evidence that the impression produced is so powerful that sometimes the observer under this influence falls fainting to the ground even when there is no crowd, and no wave of hysterical emotion which could be attributed to the presence of other enthusiasts similarly moved. In other instances visitors meeting, as they think, the stern or reproachful eyes of the Saviour, run away precipitately and cannot be induced to face the same experience a second time.

3. It is equally certain that the great majority of the visitors to the church see nothing, even in spite of a strong desire to see, of efforts long persisted in and of many hours of prayer spent with their eyes fixed on the crucifix.

4. On the whole the careless and irreligious seem to be more favoured than the devout, and the male sex more than the female sex. Numberless fervent priests and good women whose lives are given up to works of charity have gone to Limpias with a keen longing to behold these wonders and have had to come away unsatisfied.

5. The published evidence goes to show that not only do the majority of those present fail to see anything abnormal at the very time that the favoured few are intensely thrilled by what their eyes reveal to them, but that those who do see do not all at the same moment perceive the same type of manifestation. Groups, it appears, often see alike and synchronise in their impressions ; but others of the privileged ones, if they are standing in a different part of the church, may simultaneously be witnessing quite different transformations from those observed by the first.

6. Although in a good many cases something abnormal is perceived at the first glance, the majority, even though ultimately successful, begin by seeing nothing. The

vision is sometimes heralded by a sort of cloud and sometimes comes suddenly and unaccountably after hours of persistent waiting.

7. The simpler manifestations, notably the movement of the eyes, seem on several occasions to have been perceived by quite young children.

8. While it is freely admitted[1] that among the excited crowds which throng the not too capacious parish church, scenes of irreverence have occasionally taken place, it is claimed that marvellous physical cures, reputed miraculous, have frequently been worked at Limpias or have resulted from the use of representations of the Santo Cristo in private houses.[2] Futhermore it is quite certain that many remarkable conversions have been effected among religious sceptics or bad Catholics, who visiting Limpias out of curiosity have themselves witnessed some of these extraordinary manifestations.

9. No objective proof has been obtained by photography of any change of expression or position in the crucifix itself. Although Father Palazuelo (pp. 258–260) professes to produce some evidence to the contrary, the photoggrapher concerned admits that it is inconclusive.

By whatever name we may characterise the whole series of phenomena which have been observed at Limpias, whether we regard them as miraculous or as collective hallucinations, or as the unconscious product of a latent faculty analogous to that of the "scryer" or crystal-gazer, there can be no question that they hold a unique place amongst similar experiences not only on account of the nature of the visions themselves, but also from the number of witnesses affected and the long period during which the manifestations have continued. As is well known, there have been a large number of pictures of the Madonna in Italy which have drawn to themselves a great

[1] Palazuelo, pp. 236-238.

[2] Father Ugarte de Ercilla, S.J., in the number of *Razón y Fe* for December, 1921, carefully abstains from applying the title "miraculous" to any of these cures.

concourse of pilgrims because many who watched them were convinced that the eyes moved or changed in expression or even shed tears. The manifestations at Rome in 1796, at Rimini in 1850, and at Campocavallo, near Loreto, in 1892–1893, are particularly famous. But the manifestations which have been described, often at length, by the witnesses of these occurrences are certainly trivial when placed in comparison with the accounts which pilgrims to the Spanish shrine have left of their subjective impressions when gazing at the Santo Cristo of Limpias. Take, for example, the testimony of a well-known priest of Saragossa, Don Manuel Cubi, on December 24, 1919. He was, he says, saying Mass at the high altar :—

> As I raised my eyes to the Santo Cristo after the *Confiteor* I was surprised by the most touching spectacle that I have ever seen. I saw Jesus in the pangs of death, saw Him move, open and close His mouth ; He drew a deep breath, so that His breast was lifted from the cross ; His lips quivered and His face became distorted. I could swear that He was covered in sweat and that the upper part of His body was stretching upwards. I could follow no more. When I had gone up the steps, I held fast to the altar ; I know that I did not look in the Missal at first. At length I began the votive Mass of the Holy Cross ; but it was only thanks to the assistance of the other priest that I could go on reading. . . . When I arose from the genuflection at the words, "*Omne genu flectatur*," the Figure had changed. From now on I watched with the closest attention and interior emotion. Now the sacred countenance was transfigured into startling beauty, almost joyful in expression, and this impression remained with me during the whole Mass.[1]

It is a suggestive fact that those who had the impression of assisting at the death agony ot our Saviour seem for the most part to have been doctors or priests who would normally have been familiar with the changes which are observed in the countenance of a dying person. Dr. Gutierrez de Cossio of Santander, whose testimony is given prominence by Fr. Urbano, O.P.,[2] describes in detail how he watched each stage in the approach and

[1] Kleist, p. 39. [2] In *La Ciencia Tomista*, Sep. to Jan., 1919-1920.

final victory of death, the sharpness of the nose, the blue tint and tightening of the lips, the pallor of the whole face, the prominence of the cheek-bones. " In the whole of my medical practice," he adds, " nothing has ever made such a deep impression on me, not even the sight of the first corpse which I saw as a young student lying in the dissecting room on the table, with shaved head and cut eyelashes."[1] Dr. del Hoyo, of Saltocabello, who, after a violent dispute with a credulous friend, was persuaded to go, still resolutely sceptical, to investigate the matter for himself, seems to have had a very similar experience " I declare," he wrote in the book which is provided in the sacristy for such depositions, " that I saw Christ open and close His mouth . . . and His face alter, becoming distorted and lined."[2] He adds, also, that though in the morning he had been able to see nothing, in the afternoon he had watched these transformations through binoculars during an hour together, and from every part of the church. One visitor believed he actually saw our Saviour detach Himself from His cross and come towards him threateningly, but before the crisis was reached the witness fainted. Another " saw Him move and slip down from the cross quite slowly until His feet touched the bottom of the crucifix." Yet another, again a doctor, watched :—

> A frightful spasm, as with one who is suffocating and struggling for air, at which the mouth and nose were opened wide. Now follows an outpouring of blood, fluid, frothing, that runs over the under lip, and which the Saviour sucks up with His bluish, quivering tongue. . . . now the nose becomes pointed, the lips are drawn together rhythmically, and then extend, the bluish cheek-bones project, His chest expands and contracts violently, after which His head sinks limply on His breast, so that the back of the head can be seen distinctly. Then . . . he expires.[3]

I cannot pretend to offer any adequate explanation of the phenomena, and I am inclined even to go further

[1] Cf. Kleist, p. 49. [2] *Ib.*, p. 51. [3] Kleist, p. 64.

and to suggest that no one, no committee even of experts either in mystical theology or in neuro-pathology, can safely pronounce a verdict upon the nature of these happenings until science has accumulated a larger store of experimental observations upon the influence of the morbid conditions of mind over the sense perceptions. Not unnaturally these occurrences at Limpias have given rise to an immense amount of discussion in the leading journals of the Spanish peninsula, and a very fair résumé of the different theories advanced may be found in Father Kleist's little volume (pp. 140-172). He, himself, though convinced of the supernatural character of the manifestations, allows that " the problem as to whether the wonderful fact admits of a natural explanation after all or not, still remains unsolved." He is prepared further to grant that there may have been a certain amount of exaggeration in some of the stories which have been circulated. " Many reports," he says, " which have been published in the newspapers merit no credence ; for undoubtedly there have been also in Limpias persons enough who were deluded, and still many more such who, in their vanity, did not want to be inferior to the really favoured ones, and therefore falsely stated that they also belonged to the number of the eye-witnesses."[1]

Father Kleist, however, must command the assent of his readers when he holds that out of some 2,500 persons who claim to have witnessed these marvels—many of them known to be sensible men of high character, and not a few having come to Limpias in a state of complete scepticism —it is impossible to believe that all, or even any large proportion, are romancing. Supposing, then, that these favoured visitors do see what they declare they see, the question remains : How is it that they came to have this visual experience ? Father Urbano, O.P., and some others answer that as the vast majority of the pilgrims perceive

[1] Kleist, p. 142.

nothing, the vision cannot be called objective—a reply which is open to the retort that on similar principles we must say that the light which blinded St. Paul on the way to Damascus (*cf.* Acts, ix. 7) and the apparition of Our Lady to Bernadette were equally not objective. For these and other reasons Father Ugarte de Ercilla, S.J., considers the manifestations objective in the sense that while the wooden crucifix undoubtedly does not move as many see it move, the figure, or rather the complex of light waves which impresses its image on the retina, is none the less utilised by some supernatural agency to produce the vision which their senses perceive. Canon Camporedondo seems to incline to the opinion that Christ our Lord in His glorified body comes down from heaven and Himself works this effect. Father Ugarte is content to invoke the ministry of angels for the purpose described. I must confess that the long arguments elaborated by these and other Catholic psychologists seem to me to bring us no nearer to any satisfactory conclusion. On the other hand, Father Ugarte, in the last of the series of articles he has devoted to the subject, is peremptory in rejecting any purely natural explanation drawn from the data of psycho-pathology.[1] The phenomena, he declares, are not due to illusion,[2] nor again to hallucination, nor to suggestion, nor to the conditions generated by the psychology of crowds. It may be so, and I am quite prepared to sympathise with this distinguished writer's unwillingness to regard those who have given their testimony at Limpias as victims of neurasthenia, aboulia, hysteria, and other psychic disorders. My only stipulation would be that before we commit ourselves irrevocably to a supernatural explanation, we ought to make sure that no sort of parallel

[1] See *Razón y Fe*, April, 1922, "Ante el Santo Cristo de Limpias," pp. 435-453.

[2] Doctor Rubio Cercas, in *La Ciencia Tomista* for Jan., 1921, has maintained that the phenomena are mainly due to an illusion produced by the varying strength of the electric current. He claims to have witnessed the apparent opening and closing of the eyes and the change of colour on more than thirty different occasions. Other phenomena he witnessed more rarely.

phenomena are to be found in the natural order, or, at any rate, phenomena occurring under circumstances where we have no right to assume a preternatural cause.

If we have difficulty in explaining the extraordinary vision of a living, suffering Christ which reveals itself to so many of those who kneel before the crucifix of Limpias, so also psychologists are in straits to account for the vivid pictures which are presented to the eyes of some exceptional persons when they look intently into the depths of a crystal ball or a drop of ink. The late Mr. Andrew Lang, the kindly and brilliant Oxford scholar, who was both the resolute champion of Jeanne d'Arc and a former President of the Society for Psychical Research (having, at the same time, a rooted dislike to mediums and séances), was an ardent student of the phenomena of "scrying" In his book, *The Making of Religion*, he has devoted a most interesting chapter to this subject. Mr Lang shows that there are a certain number of people, healthy in body and wholesome in mind, who, while in all other relations quite normal, have only to look intently into a crystal ball or some similar object upon which they fix their gaze, when they at once begin to see pictures in it. "Some persons," he says, "do not even find a clear deep necessary, and are content to gaze at the palm of the hand, for example, when hallucinatory pictures, as they declare, emerge"[1] Mr. Lang, whose researches into this matter are entirely in accord with the conclusions of other investigators, for example, Mr. N. W. Thomas and Mr. F. W. H. Myers,[2] goes on to speak as follows :—

A person can either induce the pictorial hallucinations (he may discover his capacity by accident, like George Sand as she tells us in her *Memoirs*—and other cases are known), or he cannot induce them, though he stare till his eyes water. It is almost universally

[1] I borrow this from Mr. Lang's article on "Crystal Gazing" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (1910). This is more concise than his other writings on the subject.

[2] A long section in Mr. Myers' *Human Personality*, Vol. i., pp. 574-598, is devoted to this subject.

found, in cases of successful experiment, that the glass ball takes a milky or misty aspect, that it then grows black, reflections disappearing, and that then the pictures emerge. Some people arrive at seeing the glass ball grow milky or misty, and can go no further. Others see pictures of persons or landscapes, only in black and white, or motionless. Others see in the glass coloured figures of men, women and animals in motion ; while in rarer cases the ball disappears from view and the scryer finds himself apparently looking at an actual scene. In a few attested cases two persons have shared the same vision. In experiments with magnifying glasses and through spars, the ordinary effects of magnifying and of alteration of view are sometimes produced ; sometimes they are not.[1]

Mr. Lang further attributes these results to the " exertion of a not uncommon though far from universal faculty, like that of ' chromatic audition '—the vivid association of certain sounds with certain colours." He also remarks :

It is unfortunate, as it awakens prejudice, but in this present writer's opinion it is true, that crystal gazing sometimes is rewarded with results which may be styled " supra-normal." In addition to the presentation of revived memories, and of " objectivation of ideas or images consciously or unconsciously in the mind of the percipient," there occur " visions, possibly telepathic or clairvoyant, implying acquirement of knowledge by supranormal means."[2]

One noteworthy feature of these cases is the fact that the pictures seen by the scryer frequently bear an intimate relation to the thought consciously or subconsciously present to the minds of one or other of those who stand by. I select one illustration from the many supplied by Mr. Lang. The crystal-gazer, Miss A——, was a personal friend of his. The following statement, confirmed by other witnesses, was written by a third party :—

I met Miss A—— for the first time in a friend's house in the South of England, and one evening mention was made of a crystal ball, and our hostess asked Miss A—— to look in it, and, if possible, tell her what was happening to a friend of hers. Miss A—— took the crystal and our hostess put her hand on Miss A——'s forehead

[1] *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1910), Vol. vii., p. 567.

[2] Mr. Lang is here quoting from the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, V., 486.

to "will her." I, not believing in this, took up a book and went to the other side of the room. I was suddenly very much startled to hear Miss A——, in quite an agitated way, describe a scene that had most certainly been very often in my thoughts, but of which I had never mentioned a word. She accurately described a race-course in Scotland, and an accident which happened to a friend of mine only a week or two before, and she was evidently going through the same doubt and anxiety that I did at the time as to whether he was actually killed or only very much hurt. It really was a most wonderful revelation to me, as it was the very first time I had seen a crystal. Our hostess, of course, was much annoyed that she had not been able to influence Miss A——, while I, who had appeared so indifferent, should have affected her.[1]

It seems hardly necessary to emphasize the bearing of such a faculty as this, supposing it to be, as Mr. Lang says, "not uncommon," upon our problem of Limpias. If the gazing intently into a crystal, or a drop of ink, or the palm of the hand, or a mirror, or "a glass of sherry, in fact almost anything," is sufficient to evoke pictures for those who have the power, why should not a similar intensity of gaze directed upon the porcelain eyes of the life-size figure of our Saviour produce similar results. Undoubtedly the concentration of mind in a large assembly upon one idea would explain very naturally the fact that the pictures so evoked invariably under these circumstances have reference to the death agony of our Lord. Also it is worthy of remark, in view of Mr. Lang's statement, "some people arrive at seeing the glass ball grow milky or misty, and can go no further," that the more elaborate visions of the heaving breast, the trickling blood, the foaming lips, the face passing through all the stages of the death agony, etc., are granted to very few. The accounts given by those so favoured are, naturally, quoted at length and repeated in book after book because they are more interesting. It would seem, however, that the majority of those who claim to have been eye-witnesses have seen no more than the movement of the eyes, while

[1] Lang, *The Making of Religion*, p. 101, where the confirmatory testimony is also printed.

there are others who perceive nothing but a cloud and a light. In the London Catholic weekly, *The Universe*, for March 26, 1920, the testimony is quoted of "a hard-headed business man," who had made a pilgrimage to Limpias. On the first day, as he states, only three, out of about forty people in the church, perceived any manifestation. On the second day, in a considerable crowd which filled the building, "nobody sees the movements of the divine eyes except the seven who are in the last bench; and we who are beside them and place ourselves in the same position see nothing." But later in the morning, the writer informs us: "Soon after the beginning of the Mass . . . I see that a kind of cloud rises, spreads and covers the feet, then the body, the arms, and later all the cross of the Christ of the Agony, and only the divine Face remains . . . illumined with golden light." The same witness, speaking to a stranger after leaving the church, found that he too, though neither he nor his party had witnessed the usual manifestations, had been conscious of a kind of cloud veiling the whole crucifix.

Although the power of inducing "hallucinatory pictures," to use Mr. Lang's phrase, has been throughout long ages abused for purposes of divination, it seems in itself to be as much a natural faculty as somnambulism, or as the susceptibility to hypnotic suggestion, though it is probably less widely diffused. Again, it is impossible to leave out of account those retro-cognitive hallucinations of which many authentic instances are recorded.[1] Although the faculty is supra-normal, there can be no conceivable reason for supposing it to be due to any extra-terrene influence, either diabolic or angelic. That two ladies of high standing in the educational world, paying a quiet afternoon visit to the Trianon at Versailles, should suddenly find their sense perceptions, both of sight and hearing, transported back into the conditions which obtained in

[1] See, for example, the Index of Myers' *Human Personality*.

the same spot more than a century earlier in the days of Marie Antoinette, is a very remarkable occurrence; but we should be as little justified in regarding it as divinely miraculous as in characterising it as a diabolic illusion.[1] My contention is, therefore, that before we can pronounce upon so delicate a problem as the manifestations which have lately taken place at Limpias, we require a more thorough investigation of the whole range of visual hallucinations than our experimental psychologists have yet been able to undertake. If I may venture, with all reserves, to record my own dominant impression, I am inclined to believe that the phenomena are not supernatural but, on the other hand, that the visions perceived are not due in every case to the same set of causes. For the majority of the favoured pilgrims, who see no more than a movement of the eyes, an apparent heaving of the breast or a change of colour in the face, it appears to me that the natural cause suggested by Dr. Rubio Cercas and depending ultimately upon the variations of the electric current which affect the arc lamps throwing light upon the figure, are probably responsible in large measure for producing a simple optical illusion. But this does not in any way exclude the operation in certain more susceptible subjects of influences of a psychic nature. Among the crowds who have visited Limpias some individuals will almost certainly have possessed a latent faculty, akin to that of the "scryer," of seeing hallucinatory pictures, and no experiments which have yet been undertaken provide any means of estimating in what degree the visual perceptions of these favoured few may exercise a telepathic influence upon others who surround them. Finally, the fact always remains that the immense majority of those who visit Limpias, however much they may be impressed by the devotional atmosphere of the place, see nothing at all. HERBERT THURSTON.

[1] I am referring, of course, to the book called *An Adventure*, by Miss "Lamont" and Miss "Morison." The real names of the two ladies concerned are now so widely known that no mystery surrounds the authorship of the work.

CHRONICLE

I.—Impressions of Czechoslovakia

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'NEILL, S.J., M.A.

For one who travels to-day in Czechoslovakia, who looks about and inquires into its political conditions and the sentiments and political matters of its people, who is in a position to compare these with those which prevail in neighbouring lands at the present day or which prevailed in the Bohemia of (say) thirty years ago, the general impression received can hardly be other than favourable and agreeable. There is the air and something more than the air of a community that has prospered, that has extricated itself with success out of entangling troubles, new and old, and that feels its feet moving on a fairly promising road. The traveller entering the capital, Prague (in native speech Praha), is at once struck by its increased brilliance and liveliness. Prague is now a very large metropolis, not far from the million-level in population : its excellent electric-tram service throws out tentacles far and wide ; it has taken under its municipal charge many former suburbs and unbuilt-on areas. There is indeed (he soon learns) an acute housing problem ; but this proves (anyhow) that many people wish to live in Prague. Nor can this city-ward tendency be set down (as it might in England or Ireland) merely to an inordinate rush away from the country districts. For in these, too, signs of prosperity are not lacking, and population is not diminishing.

To what extent these favourable appearances conceal less pleasing facts is a question to which we must return. Meantime, having once stated that they exist, let us next remind ourselves briefly why they exist. Thirty years ago Bohemia (with Moravia) was a land which carried unwillingly a yoke of political dependence. A land of ancient national self-consciousness, with its own traditions, aspirations and hopes, it bore in its heart a bitter sense that those traditions had been ignored and repressed and those aspirations condemned to wither. The dominant centralizing power of Austria had been, during many centuries, the obstacle, the enemy. The

growth to quasi-independent statehood of the neighbouring Hungary had intensified in Bohemia the sense of unjust repression and of thwarted aspirations. Everywhere in public, commercial, social life the German element—"Deutschthum"—was in the ascendant. It claimed ascendancy as a matter of intrinsic as well as extrinsic right—a superiority of merit as well as of success. In point of mere numbers the German element was extremely large—fully one-third of the total population. In education, business, literature, art, religion, local affairs it occupied a clearly leading place. The prevalent mentality, public and private, was fully reflected in linguistic matters: the national Czechish speech was left completely in the background; the dominant, more cosmopolitan German was heard in all educated circles. Either language was a standard of racial jealousy or conflict; those who wished to avoid taking either side fell back, when they could, on Latin or French.

Now all this is substantially altered, and strikingly altered. The Great War, the Revolution, the downfall of the Hapsburgs and of Austria—these things have led to a transformation so vivid as to remind us rather of the quick-change politics of South or Central America than of the calmer transitions of our old Europe. The German language has completely disappeared from publicity. In a city like Prague, where probably nine-tenths of the population understand and nearly as many can speak German, while probably one-third is wholly ignorant of Czechish, one notes with some amusement the complete disappearance of German from all public notices, all shop-signs, all advertisements.[1] In the railway trains, at the stations and the waiting-rooms the most necessary pieces of information are conveyed to the wayfarer in the native speech and in it alone. Station-names are labelled only by their Czechish names, even though (as constantly in North Bohemia) a purely German form has been fully in possession for centuries.[2] And so on. These are but some externals of a great change—the obvious things that strike the traveller who returns to the land after a long absence.

Beneath them are certain solid and hard realities. One has not investigated them very far before one comes upon the chief difficulty of the new Czecho-slovak State—a difficulty of no original or uncommon kind—lack of national unity—national in the strict sense; not to speak of division on religious and, again, on economic ques-

[1] It is no mere laughing-matter however, for those concerned, as there are definite prohibitions of the use of German.

[2] At the same time that Saxony, on the German side of the frontier, is full of Slav place-names! The frontier, in fact, like so many others, is quite artificial as regards race and language.

tions. Let us, however, speak first of the last-mentioned source of discord. Czechoslovakia has its own form and experience of the widespread quarrel between "capital" and "labour"—between a more or less aggressive Socialism and a property-holding Conservatism. As an element of discord, this quarrel combines with, and takes peculiar shape in combining with, the other religious and national or racial discords that agitate the Republic. There has arisen (to give an important case in point) the question of the forests which occupy immense more or less mountainous tracts in North Bohemia. These woodlands have belonged for many generations to aristocratic and wealthy (or once-wealthy) families, whose associations and traditions have been mainly imperialist or Austrian; now their expropriation is being actively pursued by the Socialist elements of the new government. To us in Ireland, to whom the national (and indeed also the private) husbandry of forests is a sadly unknown business, the news of such a struggle may suggest but little of interest; but to anyone who knows what valued and valuable possessions are the woods, great or small, public or private, of Central Europe, the importance of the issue will be quite manifest. We can here but briefly indicate the views of the contending parties. On behalf of the expropriation or nationalization policy are alleged the usual socialistic arguments against all such accumulations of landed possessions in private hands. It must be admitted that these arguments appear to particular advantage when advanced in the case of an enormous acreage capable of serving the general interests either by being farmed in the name of the State or by being distributed among individual peasant proprietors. It is an enormous acreage which, like many similar areas in these islands, has hitherto served too often for merely private profit or private recreation, or, occasionally, for gratifying the whims of some proprietor who manifests his power only by excluding all other persons from profit or recreation. The argument has been reinforced by reflections on the non-national or doubtfully national record of certain great landed proprietors, and on the danger to the State of allowing its border-lands to lie in the hands of a class or of individuals whose loyalty in the case of a foreign invasion could not be depended on.

On the other hand, the defenders of the old landed order have not lacked point or vehemence in their replies and defences. They have pointed out the grave injustice done in the name of general principles to individuals against whom no definite charges could be sustained; the moral injury inflicted on the State as well as on the individual by expropriations justifiable neither in law nor in equity —in fact, organised robberies. They have pointed out the material

injury inflicted on the State by the transfer of exceedingly valuable properties from the hands of loving, careful and competent cultivators to those of ignorant, indifferent, incompetent official caretakers. And their general accusations of depreciation in the worth of the alienated property and malversation of profits have been supported by definite allegations.

Here is a conflict which may seem mainly economic, but which has been embittered by national or racial discords. It brings us, in truth, into the centre of a warfare between Czech and German elements which sickens and weakens the soul of the new Republic. The German element in Bohemia, whatever may be thought as to its foreign or indigenous character, is fully one-third of the whole population, is culturally and economically important, is of ancient and gradual growth. Such an actual element in the State has excellent grounds for demanding just and liberal treatment and a full share of the good things dispensed by the new government. Such an element ought obviously not to be wantonly driven into hostility or sullen resistance.

The Czechish reply is that such a friendly policy becomes impossible when it meets in the claimants an anti-national spirit, anti-patriotic activities, an inbred habit of domination and encroachment. "You claim," they say to the Germans, "to be the chief producers and guardians of wealth, science, art and literature; if we granted the whole claim, which we do not, it would still remain to be asked—how came you into a position to make it? For centuries you have controlled the resources of our land. The Czechish people were offered the means of material and cultural progress only on condition of submitting to Germanisation: what wonder if the masses of them refused? It is not they who ought now to be penalised."

The Germans complain of the wholesale planting of Czechish officials in localities that are (practically) purely German, and of the taxing of such German communities for the upkeep of schools that serve merely for the children of a few imported officials, while elsewhere German minorities of no small size ask in vain for separate schools to meet the wants of their children. To which the Czechish retort is that the Germans in their day of power indulged in much more indefensible neglect of minority rights and favouritism towards imported officialdom. The Germans complain, again, that electoral districts, especially in the large towns, have been so unfairly jerry-mandered as to leave them (the Germans) with wholly inadequate representation; thus are they left powerless to protect their industries and properties; the ultimate design of many of their

enemies being nothing less than to confiscate for the benefit of the Czechish proletariat the wealth built up by their ancestors and themselves. The fate of the forests is the significant prelude to the fate of the factories. To which the Czechs again reply with a query to the acts or oppressions by which Germans got themselves into such dominant industrial prosperity.

With regard to all these charges there is another reply of the Czechs which is rather interesting : it is that many of the so-called German islets or businesses are in reality Jewish. It is alleged that of ten people who speak only German in Prague eight (by the admission of Germans themselves) will be Jews.

Finally, the Germans accuse the government of adopting a ruinous, although showy policy by forcing up the value of the monetary unit—the *krone*. Deeply interested as they are in commercial and industrial progress, they deplore and protest against a financial policy which is leading to industrial ruin. "It is all very well to look solvent and prosperous in comparison with a currency-beggared Austria or Germany ; but your high *valuta* simply closes your factories and your shops. The foreign demand for your goods is killed off. Your metal, glass, timber, leather, pottery, textile industries are either killed off or work only two or three days in the week. The Socialist papers estimate at 600,000 the number of unemployed with their families. Your showy policy is laying us all open to the worst of dangers, to an eruption of Bolshevism." And these general facts are undeniable.

In the face of the German protests and denunciations, the attitude of the Slav majority is not indeed an admirable, but a very natural one. Conquerors, after having for centuries endured the humiliations of the conquered, an independent nation, after having long chafed in the obscurity of a mere province, it is only too like human nature if they triumph arrogantly and use their power pitilessly. A gentler frame of mind undoubtedly would be both ethically more admirable and politically more statesmanlike.[1]

The Czechs declare that their task of nation-building renders

[1] The designs of the more intolerant Czechs may be gathered from their published utterances. Thus, a body called "The Czech National Union for North Bohemia" (North Bohemia being, we repeat, a region overwhelmingly German in character) formulated, in December, 1921, its demands as follows :—

(1) Only Czechs to be admitted as Government officials ; (2) The command of garrisons to be entrusted to approved Czechs only ; (3) Land reform to be carried through for the benefit of the Czechish nation ; (4) When the concession for a new factory or industry is given, it must be seen to that the workers and two-thirds of the other employees are Czechs ; (5) Railways, health-springs and watering-places to be nationalized, and the posts consequently created to be filled by Czechs.

it imperative to check the inbred aggressiveness of the Germans, to thwart their efforts at renewed domination, to guard unremittingly against their tendency to treasonable trans-border correspondences. "Pan-Germanism may be a dream, but it is still a dream dangerous to the peace of Europe. The Germans do not even pretend to accept honestly our new constitution. When they do, it will be time to think of giving them the full rights and encouragements of Czecho-slovakian citizens." To which the German reply is: "So long as your constitution is what it is, we cannot accept it."

And so the quarrel goes on. In trying to evaluate it we must remember that one party—the German—has a great advantage on its side—the power of the Press. The German cause is advocated in scores or hundreds of newspapers and other periodicals both inside and outside the Czechoslovakian boundaries that are written in German and therefore command an immense, even world-wide reading public. The Czechish cause is advocated in papers written only in Czechish—in papers, therefore, that are few in number, seldom influential, and read by a very limited public. It is a disadvantage which we can understand by imagining the immense disadvantage Ireland would be under if quarrels between her and England were to be conducted in newspapers, periodicals and books written in English on the one side and only in Irish on the other. Mindful of this, the outsider to the Bohemian controversies who can read German but not Czechish must guard himself against hastily drawing from what he reads conclusions unduly pro-German and anti-Czechish.

But we must next recall the fact that the dominant Czechism of Prague has other gainsayers in the Republic than the Germans, who so loudly protest against it. The chorus of discontent is swelled by the Slovaks of North Hungary (now annexed) and the Moravian Czechs of Moravia. The Slavs of Slovakia (formerly North Hungary), among whom are a considerable German population, are promised equality with Czechs by the very name of the new State; they were definitely promised a certain degree of autonomy within its constitution, as (for example) by President Masaryk in a speech made in the United States at Pittsburgh. Their racial and historical distinctiveness (within the Slav family) from the people of Bohemia would seem to make this claim an entirely reasonable one. Yet it has hitherto not been granted. The Slovaks complain loudly—and not merely on what may be called "sentimental" grounds. Prague shows the same mind towards them as towards the Germans of North Bohemia. The same policy as regards schools and official personnel is applied with the same consequences. Here the religious

question becomes more acute than in North Bohemia. It is not within the scope of this article to enter into so large a subject as the religious problems and aspects of Czechoslovakia; but in the present context they must be touched on.[1] The dominant spirit at Prague is not one of orthodox Catholicism. Whether it is more akin to that of the Socialist, or of the Jew, or of the Freemason, or of the militant Agnostic may be matter for dispute; but it is certainly alien to that of the typical Slovak, who may be claimed as a believing and practising Catholic. The unfriendly breezes which blow from the central government upon his religious convictions and practices, his demands for respect to conscience in educational and other matters, are highly calculated to foster the Slovak's tendencies to separation and self-development.

Something of the same kind is true of the Czechs of Moravia (Mähren). A branch of the Czech family separated from those of Bohemia by no very clear boundary of race or place, they have nevertheless had a history of considerable independence. Among the later and honourable episodes of that history may be mentioned an agreement come to in 1905 between the Czechish and German elements in Moravia, whereby peace and harmony were secured at the price of reasonable concessions made by both parties. That agreement might seem to be a good headline set for their brethren at Prague in their present day of triumph; the latter, however, have preferred less generous inspirations. They have created religious difficulties which are keenly felt in Moravia. There a far wider, deeper and more devout Catholicism prevails, both in city and in country, than in Bohemia, and, as in Slovakia, this Catholicism finds itself out of sympathy with the tone, temper and tendencies of the coalition at Prague.

It must be acknowledged that the actions of that government have been, thus far, much less aggressive and more judicious than the earlier records or speeches of some of its members had led people

[1] A full treatment of the religious problems of Czechoslovakia might have claimed the first place in our attention had not the subject been recently handled in a well-informed and judicious paper. We refer to the article on the Church in Czechoslovakia which has appeared in the November number of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* from the pen of the Rev. J. Ryan, S.J. We are inclined to think that the article leaves a total impression which is too gloomy, too unfavourable to Czechoslovakian religious conditions. This is not because there are inaccuracies in the lines and colourings of the picture given us by Father Ryan: it is that—as regards especially Moravia—another picture (no doubt smaller and less comprehensive) might have been painted in brighter hues. Neither faith nor devotion are lacking among the population ruled by the present admirable and popular Archbishop of Olmütz, Dr. Stojan. In Bohemia generally less happy conditions prevail.

to anticipate. Beyond the matters already referred to, there have been no noteworthy attacks on the civil rights of any class of citizens. This remark may perhaps be extended to comprehend the religious policy of the government, which we are not here expressly considering. For this moderation—valuable when compared with the conduct of certain other governments, the manifold and oddly-blended character of the parties who compose the " bloc " in power may be given some of the credit. Yet these parties are mainly of Socialist complexion ; only one of the five groups professes itself Christian, and none of them represents the Germans.[1] The comparative moderation of their action is perhaps mainly due to the shrewd statesmanship of the executive head of the Republic—President Masaryk. He has undoubtedly won laurels by the skill with which he has steered his ship into a fairly tranquil and promising course out of the seething turbulence of revolution. To appreciate fully this success and this good fortune, one has but to compare the recent history of Czechoslovakia with that of (say) Poland or Ireland. It is to be hoped that by a resolute adherence to counsels of moderation and impartiality President Masaryk and his colleagues will merit and succeed in winning the confidence of all sections of their countrymen. Thus, and only thus, may the new Central-European State be reckoned among the forces that are working for the world's peace and progress. G. O'NEILL.

II.—The German Catholic Congress of 1922

BY JOHN RYAN, S.J., M.A.

IN Germany, as in so many other countries, the history of the Church during the modern period has been one of fluctuating trial and consolation. To the end of the eighteenth century its chief bishops were primarily noble lords, so occupied in promoting family and territorial interests that they had little time or inclination left for the duties of their spiritual calling. The Holy See, in the eyes of this princely hierarchy, was scarcely better than a troublesome foreign power against which the accepted weapons of worldly diplomacy could be used without scruple. These conditions were brought suddenly to an end by the secularisation of ecclesiastical lands in 1803. Territory to the extent of thousands of square miles, inhabited by a population of over 3,000,000 souls, and bringing

[1] The composite government has two Catholics among its members, Dr. Dolansky, whose name may suggest an Irish origin, and Dr. Sramek, a Premonstratensian priest, till lately Minister of Railways, but now Minister of Public Health and Physical Culture. He represents the Christian Czechish Labour Party.

in an annual income equivalent to millions of pounds, was lost irreparably, and the Church was handed over despoiled and defenceless to her enemies. Nor was this the greatest danger German Catholics had to face. Wessenberg, the administrator of the diocese of Constance, appeared at the Congress of Vienna, and, assisted by his able cousin, Prince Metternich, laboured for the establishment of a German national church, with a national anti-papal primate.

At the Congress of Vienna, too, the Rhine provinces were acquired by the Hohenzollern dynasty, and were to learn by a century of experience how little understanding for Catholic life or respect for Catholic ideals was to be expected from the Prussian government. A Concordat, negotiated by the classical historian Niebuhr, allowed the State an almost decisive voice in appointing to the higher Church offices, and even then was only accepted at Berlin on Niebuhr's assurance that the Papacy had already one foot in the grave and, within a very few years, was destined to disappear for ever. Opposition to the State marriage-laws, with which the laws of the Church could not be reconciled, led to the arrest of the Archbishop of Cologne in 1837 and to his long imprisonment in a fortress ; to be followed a year later by similar treatment of the Archbishop of Gnesen.

Bavaria, despite its Catholic tradition and the vigorous Catholic life of the majority of its inhabitants, was scarcely behind Prussia in zeal to impede the Church's progress. Typical of its attitude towards the Holy See was the selection as its representative in Rome of a bishop known to belong to the Freemason society and to lead a private life that justly incurred suspicion. The ruling dynasty was much more interested in art than in religion ; the Cabinet was, with rare exceptions, "liberal" ; the civil service, the law-courts, the universities and the schools were manned to a shameless extent by Protestants and freethinkers. The same held true of Baden and the other states where the Catholic population was large enough to be of importance. It looked almost as if there were a widespread State conspiracy to prevent the Church from realizing her ideal of piety and morality in the lives of her own children.

Within the Church itself, however, the growth of a new and better generation gradually made itself felt. State ecclesiastics of the Wessenberg type disappeared, converts were numerous, the programme for the future was fixed along loyal Catholic lines by the saintly Redemptorist, Clement Mary Hofbauer (canonised 1909), laymen like the brilliant Munich professor, Joseph von Görres, took up the gage of battle in defence of the Church's interests. In

1848, the year of Görres' death, the Catholics of Germany met in general congress to deliberate on their position, and the results were so satisfactory that the Annual Congress became an institution.

The exclusion of Austria from the German Confederation after the war of 1866 was naturally unpleasant to Catholic Germans; but they dutifully accepted the new situation. The year 1870 saw the formation of the Centre Party as a Catholic political party in the Reichstag and 1871 the outbreak of the Kulturkampf, with its unspeakable tale of suffering for the Church. Bismarck protested that for him there would be no Canossa; but he proved to be a false prophet, for the period 1880-5 was occupied in repealing, on his recommendation, the laws which he had carried ten years before. The lamentable fall of Döllinger and the "Old Catholics" after the Vatican Council caused much misery; but the movement gradually dwindled away until it ceased to be of importance. Harassed from without and from within, the Catholics of Germany were welded during these years into a compact body of great strength, and their Annual Congresses in consequence came to have a new significance. From 1895 on the Centre Party was the leading political group in the Reichstag; in 1912 Count von Hertling, perhaps the greatest Catholic lay figure of recent times, became Premier in Bavaria, and five years later came to Berlin as Chancellor of the Empire; from 1918 onwards it is on the Centre Party that the onus of governing has chiefly fallen. On the whole, then, the Church in Germany can look back with pride on its progress during the last century; but its enemies are still numerous and bitter. Changed conditions have brought new dangers, so that the great annual gatherings, in which unflinching devotion to Catholic principles is proclaimed and counsel is sought as to how best these principles can be realised, are as necessary now as at any time in the German Church's history.

The Congress for the present year, the sixty-second since 1848, was held at Munich during the four days August 27-30, and was successful almost beyond any within living memory. The organisation, at which an energetic central committee had been working a whole year, was admirable. No hall or theatre in Munich being big enough to hold the audience expected, the committee courageously decided to cover in with canvas, at a cost of 1,200,000 marks, one of the great courtyards of the old palace. This gave sitting room for 12,000 and standing room for some further thousands; and the acoustic conditions were happily such that a speaker with ordinarily good voice could be heard by all present. Numbers of special trains brought visitors from every part of Germany to the

Congress ; vouchers at moderate rates allowed full use of the trams within the city and saved much inconvenience. Finally the Committee, which a week before the opening of the Congress had established a bureau manned with a small army of officials at the central railway station, found hotel accommodation for all visitors not already provided for and, great and unexpected blessing, granted all the necessary police permits at a fourth of the usual cost.

Early arrivals were treated to a special performance of the Passion Play at Oberammergau, on Friday, August 25th. On Saturday, August 26th, the sight at the huge railway station at Munich gave the impression that the whole population of Germany had suddenly decided to migrate to the Bavarian capital. In the evening at 6 p.m. magnificent peals of bells from Munich's many churches gave expression to the religious joy with which the city welcomed its visitors. A sacred concert in the Cathedral won the enthusiastic praise of music lovers.

On Sunday, August 27th, the Congress proper began with a mighty gathering in the Königsplatz, the largest open space in Munich. The multitude was mustered at six centres and marched in six huge processions through the city to the place of meeting. An idea of the number marching may be gathered from the fact that the clergy walking four deep formed a line at least as long as O'Connell Street, and yet the clergy were only a portion of one of the six groups. No less than 10,000 women and girls marched in the procession. Punctuality was well observed, and at the appointed hour, 10.0 a.m., all had arrived and found their places in the Königsplatz. At the eastern side of the square, against the entrance to the magnificent Art Exhibition building and thus effectually shaded from the morning sun, a high platform, crowned by a beautifully decorated altar, had been erected. Exactly at ten o'clock the Archbishop of Munich, Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber, appeared on the platform, and the assembled multitude broke into one of these grand old Catholic hymns in which Germany is still so rich. As the soft notes of the melody died away, His Eminence mounted the pulpit, and began his sermon with the words : " Brethren, be strong in the Lord. Put on the armour of God in the day of evil."

It was a scene which those present will never forget. A beautiful August morning in one of the most beautiful cities of the world. A Prince of the Church, under the broad canopy of heaven, addressing words of eternal wisdom to his people. Behind him is the altar on which the Immaculate Lamb will soon be offered ; at his side is the Apostolic Nuncio, a token, if token were needed, that the

blessing of the Vicar of Christ is on his efforts ; around him are the spiritual and temporal leaders of the nation—bishops and abbots, ministers from Berlin and from the other states, the Bavarian Cabinet almost in full, renowned Catholic laymen, friends from abroad. In front, pressed together so closely that movement is almost impossible, a congregation of 100,000 souls, representing every class and condition in German life, straining to catch his words. The Cardinal is celebrated as one of Germany's greatest preachers, and as he taught his hearers what it was to be a Catholic not in name only but in deed and in truth, it was easy to see the power of his word. At the conclusion of the sermon Mass of the Blessed Virgin was said by the Apostolic Nuncio, Archbishop Pacelli. This ended, the gathering gradually melted away. The Tyrolese, who to the number of some thousands had arrived in special trains during the night, led by 22 bands, made a tour of the city amid scenes of great enthusiasm ; but amongst the onlookers many, and not all of the weaker sex, had eyes wet with tears. It is sad to think that this, one of the noblest peoples of the earth, should be left to the cruel fate of hunger ; nor could the bitter thought be repressed that, if they were Jews or Turks, they would not lack powerful friends in their hour of need.

At noon the task of selecting a President of the gathering was approached, and the Oberbürgermeister of Cologne, Dr. Adenauer, was elected with acclamation. Of the President it need only be said that his name was mentioned seriously in connection with the Chancellorship at the last political crisis. In the evening the Great Hall, despite its power to accommodate 15,000, was too small to admit all who crowded to its doors. After cheers for His Holiness the Pope, speeches were delivered by the Cardinal Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg on behalf of Catholic Austria, by the Bishop of Chur, for Swiss Catholics, by representatives of all the German states and of the Germans abroad. The President of the Bavarian Cabinet, Count Lerchenfeld, who delivered an address vibrating with Catholic life, the Apostolic Nuncio, and the Oberbürgermeister of Munich came in for special applause.

Of the three following days, Monday was devoted to consideration of the school question, Tuesday to the question of the Church and Socialism, and Wednesday to the question of the relations between Church and State. A full account of the present position of the Church in Germany with regard to each of these questions was given by an expert or experts, and time was allowed at the end for a short debate. In the discussion on the schools a welcome sensation was caused by the appearance of the Bavarian Minister of Public

Worship on the platform, and still more by his fine avowal of Catholic principles as those which alone have any value in a real educational system. On Socialism the most interesting speaker was the ex-President of the Prussian ministry, Adam Stegerwald, originally an ordinary labourer, now one of the ablest thinkers and most capable leaders of the Centre Party. The teaching of the Church regarding the State was expounded with admirable clearness by the distinguished Münster professor, Dr. Mausbach. Unfortunately the deductions from his teaching were not quite so clear, and Dr. Mausbach's hearers left as they came, divided in their views as to how they should behave towards the actual German republic. Wisdom, according to Dr. Mausbach, has been singled out by the great thinkers of all time as the leading virtue of the statesman. Sentiment must be utterly disregarded in deciding political issues ; rather must the reason calculate with icy coldness the proper course to take. Only in pursuit of this course are courage and bravery genuine virtues. If they wished to see the consequences of applying the wrong methods in politics (sentiment storming ahead and reason trailing behind), they had only to look to the tragic history of Ireland "from the days of O'Connell to the present hour"—a statement in which the learned professor was, to put it very mildly, too sweeping.

Those of us who were hurt by this well-meant but slighting reference to our country were destined to have speedy consolation. His Eminence Cardinal von Faulhaber, in a brilliant address on "the Church as Peacemaker," dwelt on the bond of charity which should unite the Catholics of all nations into a great commonwealth, helping one another to have Catholic ideals realised in their various countries. The day was come too, he said, when they should have a better understanding for the sufferings of their co-religionists in other lands ; the day was come when they should show more active sympathy with the martyred Catholics of Ireland. The round upon round of applause with which this statement was greeted proved that we have no reason to complain of the place we enjoy in the hearts of the Catholics of Germany.

Of the smaller gatherings, lack of space forbids a detailed account. They dealt with the affairs of artists, apprentices, workers, maid-servants, factory-girls, parents, teachers, civil-servants, missionary workers, university students (where General Ludendorff was an honoured visitor), collegians, Esperantists, messenger-boys, cinematograph directors, congregationalists, musicians, merchants, and so on. Representatives of all these interests from various parts of the country came together and discussed their position and the best means of securing progress in the coming year.

The first impression left by the Congress is that the Catholic Church is a power in Germany. It is well organised and well led; it has an excellent tradition, and it has the courage to face modern problems. The second impression is that it will need all its strength and wisdom to overcome the enemies against whom, now and in the next few years, it will have to struggle. Externally there are two, the old Prussian ascendancy and the Socialists. Except in the very unlikely event of a national reaction in favour of the Prussian system, there is nothing to be feared from the ascendancy quarter. The Socialists at the moment share the government of the country with the Catholic representatives; but they are politically much more powerful, and their views, though modified in many points, are still on essential questions diametrically opposed to the teaching of the Church, so that the coalition is loved by neither side and may with unexpected suddenness come to an end. The allies of to-day may thus become the persecutors of to-morrow. Internally there is the possibility of a serious split on the political issue. The Bavarian Catholics are monarchists, and even during the Congress took what, considering Germany's international position, can only be termed a childish delight in showing their enthusiasm for the deposed dynasty. Restoration of the monarchy means for them, of course, restoration of the Catholic Wittelsbachs. In the Rhineland, on the other hand, restoration of the monarchy means the return of the Hohenzollerns; and, with that as the only alternative, the Rhinelanders are inclined to be very content indeed with the present republican government. The two lines of thought found rather sharp expression at the Congress—happily, however, without upsetting the general harmony. If this gulf can be bridged, and it is not quite certain that it can, the Catholics of Germany will be in a position to take an active part in bringing their country's damaged barque over perilous seas to a haven of safety.

JOHN RYAN.

III—A Pioneer of Retreats for Laymen in the United States

FATHER TERENCE J. SHEALY, S.J.

Born in Ireland, April 30, 1863; Died in New York, September 5, 1922.

BY JAMES J. WALSH, M.D., PH.D.

WITH the death of Father Terence J. Shealy, S.J., there passed out of American life, unfortunately all too young, an Irish-born American Jesuit who had deeply influenced the spiritual life of the United States. He was the organiser of the Laymen's League for Retreats

and Social Studies, and this movement has grown during a little more than a decade from one that affected but a comparatively small group of men to one that brings thousands every year to renew their faith and their practice of religion by week-end retreats.

In January, 1909, a small group of Catholic laymen, under the inspiration of Mr. Sidney J. Finley of New York, met to consider the establishment of a house of retreats for laymen in New York City similar to those which had been founded not long before in Belgium and in England. They passed a resolution to make a formal request to the Provincial of the Society of Jesus for a director for the work. Father Shealy was appointed, and in May, 1909, a tentative organization was made. It was resolved to begin the work at once by having week-end retreats at Fordham University during the summer, and then, when interest in the movement had been thoroughly awakened, to secure a suitable house for the retreats. I was one of those who in July, 1909, made one of the first of these retreats; about a score of us gathered on Friday evening at Fordham and spent Saturday and Sunday and until after Mass on Monday morning in recollection and prayer, making a series of exercises under Father Shealy's direction. The movement thus simply begun took root and spread, and has meant much for American life. During that summer altogether ten retreats were held, with an attendance of 179 men. After the University students returned, Keyser Island, the summer residence of the Jesuits on Long Island Sound, was used for the retreats. The second year, between Fordham and Keyser Island, some nineteen retreats were held, attended by over 300 men.

Manifestly the movement was destined to have a successful future; so in January, 1911, State incorporation was asked for what was known as "The Laymen's Retreat Movement." In the meantime a house suitable for the retreats had been looked for patiently, and in March, 1911, Father Shealy's search culminated in the discovery of an estate on Staten Island known as Fox Hill Manor. This consisted of a large double house and plot of ground some twenty acres in extent, on the Fingerboard Road near Fort Wadsworth. It was situated on one of the highest points along the Atlantic Coast and yet within New York City itself, and within three quarters of an hour by ferry and railroad from the heart of the city. The house had been built by a wealthy railroad man, and no expense had been spared in its substantial construction and tasteful decorations. The grounds had been lavishly improved with gardens and greenhouses. But after the death of the owner the house and grounds had fallen into neglect, so that the whole estate was pur-

chased for a sum that would not pay for the buildings. Its possibilities for retreat purposes soon became evident. Immediately on taking possession the name Mount Manresa was given to the estate, dedicating it very appropriately to the retreat movement and the revivification of the spiritual life.

After this purchase the development of the movement was only a question of time and Father Shealy's zeal. Considerable debt had to be incurred in the purchase of the property, but this was gradually lessened until at Father Shealy's death it had not only been paid off, but a fund was already accumulating for the erection of a large building such as is now demanded by the numbers who come for the retreats. A movement is now on foot to make this a Father Shealy Memorial Building, which will provide modern accommodation in every sense of the word for some hundred retreatants and will at the same time furnish a new chapel for the work. At the present time the house cannot comfortably accommodate more than sixty, and as many as a hundred sometimes ask to be allowed to come for a particular retreat. There seems no doubt at all that the men who so enthusiastically gathered around Father Shealy will now continue the work so well begun, and will give, in his name, the provision necessary to assure the future of the movement.

Many of the retreats consist of groups of men who have been acquainted with one another for years and who are glad to have this opportunity to spend some time in each other's company, even though the social intercourse may be very limited because of the retreat regulations. On Friday evening, when they come together, they meet at dinner in a sort of love feast among old friends, with many current topics to discuss. After dinner social relations are renewed amid the retailing of the latest stories and the discussion of the various subjects of interest of the day. At 8.30 o'clock the bell calls them together for the first exercise or lecture. With this lecture, to be followed by others at regular intervals during the following two days, the retreat has begun, though silence is not rigorously observed in the hours immediately after the mid-day and the evening meals. The breakfast after the last communion together on Monday morning is a social occasion likely to be remembered at least for the year by all those who take part in it.

During the days of retreat the men wander on the pleasant paths through the grounds, up hill and down dale, amid the flowers that now grow in profusion, the soil having been well prepared for them in the time when this was a millionaire's country house. The trees have been so well kept that, in spite of the fact that there has been a great deal of building in the immediate neighbourhood in recent

years, the privacy is even more absolute than before; there is a very literal *rus in urbe* that makes this an ideal spot for retreats. Here over 2,000 men every year find a place and an opportunity to "invite their souls" and think of the meaning of life. After three days of recollection they leave with the consciousness of new power to face their everyday problems, with a very definite recognition of the meaning of the mystery of things so dark to the men of our generation who have no faith to guide them.

To the Retreat Movement was soon added the organization, under Father Shealy's leadership, of the School for Social Studies. For some years before the war there had been a growing recognition that the elements of disorder in this country and the spirit of unrest which was setting class against class were largely due to the lack of proper appreciation on the part of employers and employees of their mutual relations and obligations. Above all, what was needed to bring peace among men was justice among men. This was particularly true so far as concerned justice to the workman. The conditions called loudly for the intensive study, the diffusive discussion and the proper application of the great principles laid down in the late Pope Leo XIII.'s magnificent Encyclical on Labour. With this there was reasonable hope of dispelling the social dangers and socialistic tendencies that had been obtruding themselves on American life. Other solutions of the perils of the day seemed to be mere makeshifts.

For the proper solution of the difficulties that were impending and the problems already at hand, knowledge was needed, and this the School of Social Studies proceeded to give. It attracted the attention of a great many of the rising generation of Catholics in New York, but also in the neighbouring States of New Jersey and Connecticut, and its classes and lectures were followed by ever-growing numbers. There had been a long-felt want of something like this to enable the man in the street to respond rationally and with the proper amount of information to the socialist propaganda which was making itself felt everywhere in our cities. Father Shealy's powers of organization were exhibited at their best in this, and his magnetic personality gathered around him a group of young men and young women who have since proved to be leaders in the dissemination of information with regard to social relations.

When an unfortunate disturbance of the relations between the City Government of New York and the Catholic Charities of the City took place, it was recognised that there would have to be a number of trained social workers provided for the needs of what had now become the largest city of the world. Father Shealy's

School for Social Studies, organised with his far-sighted appreciation of social conditions and their needs, proved now to be the nucleus of larger developments for this purpose of providing trained social workers. At the request of the Cardinal Archbishop of New York, Fordham University established a Department of Sociology. The School for Social Studies was incorporated with this Department and thereby received a definite status among educational institutions.

Father Shealy's life, as befitted a good religious, was lived quietly and simply and yet very effectively. Few men exerted so much influence and yet created so little stir or evoked so little publicity. His name had come to be known all over the country among Catholics in touch with Catholic education, and above all with Catholic attention to social problems. The basis of this, of course, was the retreat movement. Men were asked to help in the reform of the world, which has always needed reform and always will need it, by beginning with reformation of themselves. No one appreciated better than Father Shealy all the significance of that passage from Thomas a Kempis which is said to have been the favourite passage in the *Imitation of Christ* of dear old Dr. Sam Johnson. It is one of the most exquisite bits of humour that has ever been written, though a Kempis is usually not thought of in any sense as a humorist. It runs something like this : " Why should we be disturbed that we cannot make other people better, since we cannot make ourselves better?" A witty Frenchman commenting on it said : " The Lord wants us to be good and make other people happy ; but we want to be happy and make other people good." Father Shealy's life work was devoted to making people better so that they might thus make other people happier.

It is not surprising then that, when a little more than a year ago it became clear that Father Shealy was seriously ill, the fact aroused deep solicitude in the minds of all those to whom the knowledge of it came. When something of the serious nature of his affliction, possibly cancer, began to be known, there were a great many who felt this almost as a personal blow. When after an operation he began to look like his old self, and it seemed as though he was going to be with us perhaps for years of work, there was a definite sense of relief, which unfortunately was destined to disappointment. When the news of his death came almost without warning (less than ten days before he had given a retreat at Mount Manresa), it was a serious shock to many thousands of people. His funeral services were so crowded that, though they were held in the very large St. Francis Xavier's Church, New York City, it was impossible for

late comers to get near the Church. Nearly a thousand business and professional men took the morning off for attendance at the funeral. Many of them who were away on vacation at the time travelled long distances to pay this last mark of respect to one whom they had learned not only to love but to reverence so much. A month later, nearly 500 of these men gathered again for his Month's Mind, a tribute which makes it very clear how profoundly he had affected them and how much they felt they owed to him.

His work is in good hands, those of his brother Jesuits, and will live after him. He will be sadly missed, but Providence will surely supply for his place. This young Irishman, who came to this country thirty-six years ago straight from the Apostolic school at Mungret to enter the Jesuit novitiate, stamped himself deeply on the life not only of the largest city in the world but also on most of the country, and has left a warm spot in the heart of ever so many men and women. He was a man of indefatigable energy, doing work at times that ordinarily would seem to demand two or three men, yet always accomplishing his purpose and laying deep the foundations that will endure long after him. In many other places besides New York the Laymen's Retreat Movement, which he had so much at heart, obtained a firm foothold. Often it was through his incentive, sometimes with his generous assistance. In some places where after a good beginning it languished, his personal attention once more restored it to life. Not everyone could catch and hold men as he did. There are many retreat centres that undoubtedly will draw new energy and inspiration from the example of his own fine courage in facing a painful death, working on until the end in spite of suffering that must have been at times almost unbearable, and submitting wholeheartedly to the will of Providence just when his presence seemed to mean so much for a great good work.

Father Shealy is a typical example of what the Irish-born priest is in many cases doing for Catholicity in this country. He was a graduate of Mungret Apostolic College, Limerick, which has so nobly carried on for our generation the traditions of the famous medieval school of Mungret. Among its graduates doing great work for the Church in the United States at the present time there are no less than four bishops and one archbishop, who occupies the Primatial See; there are, besides, a series of educators who are doing some of the best work that is being done anywhere in this country, men of great intellectual power and spiritual vision.

James J. Walsh.

REVIEWS

Archaeology

IRELAND IN PRE-CELTIC TIMES. By R. A. S. Macalister, Litt.S., F.S.A. Dublin : Maunsel and Roberts. 1921. 25*s.* net.

Dr. Macalister's work on European archaeology, reviewed in the September number of *Studies*, covers the space of time that precedes the Neolithic Period. Until recent years this space of time was held to consist of the Palaeolithic Period in its successive phases, followed by a great hiatus ; for no gradual transition from Palaeolithic to Neolithic handicraft was established in evidence. This hiatus seemed so manifest, the negative evidence so thorough, that theories were in vogue to account for a total or nearly total disappearance of human inhabitants from the regions whose record was supposed to be so fully known. Later research has done much to fill the chasm. In particular two West-European cultures—if we may apply the term " cultures " to such mechanical developments —have been discovered and explored. One of them, called the Azilian, seems to radiate from the Pyrenean region ; the other, the Campignian, from the region of the Baltic. The two may have been contemporary. For the period to which they belong, the name Mesolithic has been adopted, and Dr. Macalister uses it. This Mesolithic Period, which is the latest dealt with in his work on European archaeology, is the first period in his work on Irish archaeology, and thus these two volumes, for the student of Irish archaeology, cover the whole ground down to the end of the Bronze Age and may be read as one continuous work. Before the Mesolithic Period, Irish archaeology is a blank. Yet the very recognition of a Mesolithic period, now more or less copiously represented in discovery, is enough to warn us that the apparent void which precedes the Mesolithic period in Ireland may be no more than a void in research and discovery.

It is true that the extreme glacial conditions under which Ireland lay at a time which seems to correspond to the Middle phases of the Palaeolithic Period leave little hope of discovering even the faintest traces of earlier human inhabitation. Between that time, however, and the time of the earliest Mesolithic evidences hitherto found in Ireland the whole of the Upper or Later Palaeolithic culture, in its several stages, has intervened. During a large part of that interval, Ireland must have been connected by land with the Continent, the connection having probably been between Antrim and Derry on this side and Argyleshire on the other, and between the south-east of Britain and Flanders. Without some such connection, it seems impossible to account for much of the ancient fauna of Ireland.

Since this fauna is mainly characteristic of a fairly temperate climate, it follows that the land connection must have outlasted the glacial period and also the subsequent sub-glacial or "tundra" period, and must have continued until forest conditions became prevalent. We may take it as an axiom that, once the human race had become widespread, every country that was both accessible to man and habitable by man was inhabited by man; and these conditions apply to Ireland during the time that elapsed between the disappearance of extreme glaciation and the breaking of the land connection. The land connection must have been broken long before the date of the known Mesolithic stations on the Antrim coast, for these "Campignian" stations are associated with a formation known as the "25-foot beach," and, when this beach was formed, the sea between Ireland and Scotland was some fathoms deeper than it is at present. The island of Oronsay, which probably formed part of the land connection, has the same "25-foot beach" formation and the same kind of Mesolithic remains. It is curious to note that the two Mesolithic cultures aforesaid appear to meet in Western Scotland, an Azilian station having been found at Oban, which is not very far from Oronsay. There is therefore good reason to hope that future research may succeed in carrying the range of Irish archaeological discovery still further back into the Upper Palaeolithic.

No greater interest attaches to the starting-point of Dr. Macalister's Irish volume than to its later limit. The author is satisfied, as is also, I think, the learned curator of the Royal Irish Academy's Museum collection, Mr. Armstrong, that the Irish Bronze Age is "pre-Celtic," and that the Celts, and with them the Iron Age, make their first appearance in Ireland, not earlier, according to archaeological estimate, than the fourth century B.C. This is decidedly my own view; but, from a recent report of a meeting of archaeologists in London it would appear that a statement on the subject by Mr. Armstrong caused no small disquietude to his hearers. Dr. Macalister further thinks that, before the coming of the Celts, the chief people or one of the chief peoples of Ireland were those who in after times were known as the Picts. Apart from other arguments of fact and probability, this, I think, was the ancient tradition of the Irish Celts. We have hardly any body of racial traditions earlier in writing than those contained in the "Laud Genealogies," written before the middle of the eighth century. Among these is an account, of which no translation has been printed, of the coming of Míl—not, be it noted, the sons of Míl. His descendants contested the rule of Ireland with the Picts, and they ruled, Gaels

and Picts, turn about, until the time of Conn of the Hundred Battles, when a struggle for the overthrow of the Picts began and was not ended until the triumph of Conn's grandson, Cormac.

Of the actual archaeological record, from the Campignian stations to the end of the Bronze Age in Ireland, there is no one who can speak with greater authority than Dr. Macalister. On one point the information at his command is incomplete. He tells us that at Tyre he has personally inspected the shellmounds which testify to the ancient industry in Tyrian purple. He has found that the shells from which the dye was taken are all perforated at a particular place. He argues that the late Mr. Knowles was mistaken in supposing that certain Irish shellmounds were remains of the same industry, since the shells in these are smashed, not perforated. Years ago, before I knew anything about this matter, I examined some very large shellmounds at Bun Abhann in Connemara. The shells (*Purpura lapillus*) were nearly all perforated, not smashed. That the extraction and use of this dye lasted in Ireland until modern times may be learned from what is stated of *Purpura lapillus* in *Cassell's Natural History*. A piece of woollen fabric, wrapped around certain Bronze Age articles found in a bog at Armoy, had a tasselled fringe of horsehair. Dr. Macalister does not remark that, if the wrapping be as old as its contents, this is the earliest sign of the domestic horse in Ireland. From various indications it seems likely that the "Aryans" were the first people who domesticated the horse, and that the appearance of the domestic horse in any part of the world is a token of Aryan occupation or Aryan intercourse. The testing of this proposition may lead to a more precise knowledge of the early Aryan habitat and of the chronology of the Aryan migrations. The earliest evidence of the domestic horse in Western Europe that I can find in Déchelette's *Manuel* belongs to the region of the Rhine and to the closing phase of the Bronze Age in that region. A collection of anterior archaeological dates for the horse in Italy, in the Ægean, Levantine, and Mesopotamian areas, and in India could not fail to be instructive.

Eoin MacNeill.

Celtica

CATALOGUE OF THE IRISH MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN. By the late T. K. Abbott, B.D., D.Litt., and E. J. Gwynn, M.A. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. 1921. 21*s.* net.

Trinity College, Dublin, possesses one of the finest collections of Irish MSS. in existence, including many codices of world-wide

celebrity, and a mass of valuable law tracts. The late Dr. Abbott's general catalogue of the T.C.D. manuscripts, which appeared in 1900, included an account of those in the Irish language. This account was based on the MS. catalogues made by O'Reilly and O'Donovan, and with indexes occupied 134 pages of the volume. The full contents of each manuscript were not described; the descriptions given were often positively inaccurate, and the pages were disfigured with curious and bewildering misspellings. The compiler himself recognised that a fuller description of the Irish manuscripts was desirable. "Accordingly he determined to attempt a fresh catalogue specially devoted to these manuscripts, and this undertaking occupied the last years of his long life. He died in December, 1913, at the age of eighty-four, leaving his task half-finished." In 1915 Mr. Edward Gwynn consented to undertake the task of completing the work. At that time pages 1-176 were already printed off and the type dispersed. Mr. Gwynn has described the remaining manuscripts, added a valuable list of additions and corrections to the portion finished by Dr. Abbott, also a general index, an index of first lines, and an admirable introduction dealing with the history of the collection, and tracing the provenance of the various groups. The resulting volume runs to 445 pages+xx.

While the revising editor has taken great pains to correct and supplement the work of his predecessor, one cannot help regretting that an entirely new scheme was not adopted, by which the corrections and additions could have been embodied in the general text, and many superfluities and inconsistencies, due to the lack of a strictly methodical plan, cut away. References to editions are given in some cases and omitted in others without any apparent rule. However, despite superficial faults, the work on the whole remains a valuable contribution to the study of Irish literature and history and a very welcome addition to the Irish student's library of reference. No other collection of Irish manuscripts in Ireland or England has a complete printed catalogue, and it is hoped that Trinity's example will soon be followed, not only by the Academy (which has a well-planned catalogue in hands), but by Maynooth, the Franciscan Convent, and others.

From transcripts made by the present writer some years ago it is possible to add a few additional notes. In F 4 13, 8a, between the Irish line quoted in the catalogue and the Clanricard pedigree, comes a note in Latin on Richardus Magnus, ancestor of the Clanwilliam Burkes, and his victory over *Ruaidhrí O Conchobhair* in *Cath in Luaithridh*. The "historical notes" beginning on 8b are really short annals of the de Burgo family in Ulster and Connacht,

from 1283 down to the Bruce invasion, and with the note on 8a form the basis of most of the metrical account of the family which begins on 26a. The description of H 3 18, pp. 786-791, is not quite correct. These pages are occupied by part of a *crosántacht* (verse and prose), beginning, apparently (the opening part may be lost; the end certainly is), *Mór mo mholadh ar mhc Colla.* It is addressed to *Alasdar Mhac Colla*, who fought under Montrose in 1644. The writing is the fine square "vellum" style so characteristic of good seventeenth century Scottish manuscripts. Pp. 785-80 contain the fragmentary tract on the descendants of the Collas which is printed in Vol. iii. of Skene's *Celtic Scotland.* It is also worth noting that pp. 694-99 are from a manuscript of which five folios are bound up in RIA A v 2.

In the index Tadhg Óg, son of Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn, is identified with the Tadhg Óg of H 2 16 and H 3 19; the latter was son of Tadhg, son of Giolla Coluim, and died in 1448. The son of Tadhg Dall only appears in D 4 35, part of which possibly was written by him.

The piece which begins on col. 844 of the Yellow Book of Lecan is part of a short recension of the prose version of *Saltair na Rann* (*cf.* Lebar Brecc, 110a). Another part of this, possibly a different recension, in a later hand, begins on col. 249, and *cf.* col. 662.

Mr. Gwynn has discovered that the original scribe of part of the Yellow Book of Lecan was Donnchadh Ó Duinnín. He wrote in 1465 for, and in the castle of, *Finghin O Mathghamhna*, of Ros Broin, the translator of Maundeville's travels. E. K.

FEILE NA n-OGLACH. Liam P. O'Riain do chan. Baile Átha Cliath: An Gaedheal-Chomhlucht Taighde um Clódóireacht, Foillseoireacht agus Tráchtáil, Teo. 1921. Sgilling glan.

> Tá seasamh Fódhla fós ar bhuidin árd-anmann :
> Sé teacht na Féinne dhúinn; iad-san d'adhnadh,
> Sé an Bárr Buadh is breághtha; Bárr ár nDíchill!"

Seo giota beag as "sonnet" atá sa leabhar bheag so. Dá mba ná beadh ach an méid seo ann, do b'fhiú é cheannach agus beart d'á réir do dhéanamh. Tá an leabhar lán de smaointe maithe, ámh-thach—smaointe gur cheart iad a bheith i n-aigne gach duine fé láthair á spriocadh chun na h-oibre atá rómhainn go léir. Laoi deas iseadh an ceann a thugann an teidiol do'n leabhar—*Féile na n-Oglach.* Tá trácht ann ar mheabhair mhóir rúnda atá ag gach éinne, i ngan fhios do, dar le daoine eolasacha. Is truagh ná bíonn duine le h-innsint dúinn cad iad na smaointe a bhíonn ar siubhail

istigh ionainn, mar, de réir mar a nochtann Liam aigne rúnda an duine, cailleamhaint mhór iseadh í ná fuil na rudaí sin ar eolas againn. Ach, b'fhéidir go bhfoghluimeóchaimíd cionnus greim d'fhagháil ortha iar léigheamh an leabhair seo dhúinn, rud a chomharluighim do gach duine do dhéanamh, muna bhfuil sé léighte cheana aige.

A. Ua F.

MIAN A CROIDHE. Pádraig Óg Ó Conaire do sgríobh. Baile Átha Cliath: An Gaedheal-Chomhlucht Taighde um Clódóireacht, Foillseoireacht agus Tráchtáil, Teo. 1922. Seacht sgillinge go leith.

Is beag Gaedhealgóir ná fuil leabhair Phádraig Uí Chonaire ar eolas aige, agus is beag duine a léigh iad nár bhain aoibhneas agus sásamh aigne asta. Seo chughainn anois Pádraig Ó Conaire eile—Pádraig óg. Tá Gaedhealg bhreágh bhlasta Connacht aige, agus beidh gach duine sásta, is cuma Muimhneach nó Connachtach é, beidh sé sásta leis an gcaoi 'na ndeineann sé cur sios ar dheise na tíre, ar chrónán na sruthán, ar shiosarnach na fairrge, ar cheileabhar cheólmhar na n-éan. Ní'l aon amhras ná gur féidir leis Gaedhealg de scríobhadh. Ach nach mór an truagh é an Ghaedhealg bhreágh so bheith millte ag na clódóirí! Ba dhóigh leat agus an luach atá ar an leabhar go bhféadfaidhe é thabairt dúinn gan dearmhad ar bith. Ní mar sin atá, ámhthach. Is baoghalach ná fuil oiread is aon leathannach amháin sa leabhar gan dearmhad cló ann. Má iarrtar seacht sgillinge go leith ar leabhar, s'é is lugha is gann do na clódóirí é chur amach mar ba cheart.

Maidir leis an sgéal féin ní ró-mhaith d'éirigh leis an ughdar. Tá rudaí ana-dheas ann, cinnte, ach is deacair a chreideamhaint go dtuitfeadh rudaí amach mar a deireann sé. Ní'l an sgéal nádúrtha, ar chuma éigin. Ní h-annso in Éirinn a chífeá fear ar tí duine eile a mharbhú le gunna toisg go raibh an duine bocht in éinfheacht le cailín gur thug sé grádh dhí. Ní fheicfeá ach oiread, Franncaigh, daoine saidhbhire, ag dul amach le pílear. In aimhdheoin sin is uile, tá, mar adubhras, rudaí maithe sa leabhar, agus tá súil agam nach fada go bhfeicimíd leabhar eile ó lámhaibh Phádraig Óig.

A. Ua F.

Education

THE EDUCATIONAL IDEALS OF BLESSED JULIE BILLIART. By a Member of her Congregation.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF JANET ERSKINE STUART OF THE SOCIETY OF THE SACRED HEART. By Maud Monahan.

THE LIFE OF CORNELIA CONNELLY, Foundress of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. By a Member of the Society.

London : Longmans. 1922. 2*s.* 21*s.* and 21*s.*, respectively.

In different ways these three works centre round the educational activities of three widespread teaching congregations which have flourished greatly over the world in the past hundred years. Two are full biographies, in which the directly educational matter, though specific and distinct, is subordinate to the unfolding of a personality. The smallest volume is expressly centred round education : it is an English rendering from a recent volume in a useful French series.

The great lesson to be derived from the work of the foundress of " Notre Dame " is that of the supreme need of providing fully for growth, with all the modifications it entails. Of the religious and moral ends of education as the activity of her Congregation, Julie Billiart had a clear concept clearly formulated ; it will be seen to be derived from the excellent parochial school system which flourished in all France before the devastation which followed the French Revolution. Though the writer of this sketch does not work out the origins of the " Notre Dame " system, and merely compares the work of the foundress with the projects of the Revolutionary Code, she does give, on pp. 36-40, a view of the school practice adopted. That practice bears the imprint of the time, and its limitations are obvious. The living organism has outgrown many of them, and in doing so has acted on a primary law of efficiency. But the ideals and moral principles which enveloped the initial years of self-sacrificing work are as true to-day as they were in the days of St. Augustine, with whose spirit and outlook they are in remarkable accord.

From the ample record of the life and thoughts and journeys of Madame Stuart we learn that her remarkable work, *The Education of Catholic Girls*, was written in a short space of time—1910 and the early weeks of 1911. The external circumstances of its composition, and the appreciations of it by distinguished critics in many lands, can all be found in her biography ; but one regrets the absence of definite evidence on the inner nature of that excellently ordered and impressive treatise. Was it lived in the classroom, or was it a

theory falling under the heading of the chapter of the biography which glances at her " views and theories on educational matters " ? The main mass of this biography is an interesting texture of Madame Stuart's letters and minor writings. The letters cover her many journeys in various continents, and are a continuous revelation of all that was seen and judged by her " quick eye for all the salient features of a town and its people " (p. 196). A capital instance of this is her pen-picture written after she had been in the " great squash " and the " pieuse cohue " at the English College, Rome (p. 338). Personal culture of mind, a power of giving solid spiritual guidance with her pen, and a most distinctive moral balance and quiet self-mastery, are the leading characteristics of a life which was at once very active and very placid. On the cultural side we may note the marked influence of such English writers as Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Browning ; and the taste so formed persisted far into her last illness, when " Kipling's *Recessional* was asked for 'that she might recall a line she had forgotten.' His *Kitchener's School* and *Said England unto Pharaoh, I will make a man of you* were also on the list " (p. 467). Yet " she never read but the best " (p. 220), and she found " English sweet and flowing, *super mel et favum* " (p. 369).

The vocation of Cornelia Connelly (1809-1879) to the foundation of the teaching Congregation of the Holy Child was given by Pope Gregory XVI (Life, p. 87), by the Congregation of Propaganda (pp. 89, 107), and by Wiseman (p. 100), in the most clear and specific manner, and was not based on any views of her own. Yet the life of this gifted and holy American lady, throughout all her educational career of thirty years, was full of trials of a most exceptional severity, reaching even to the sorrows of a mother whose bereavements were worse than death itself : and secret suffering was more than once augmented by publicity even dramatic in its fulness. A more exceptional vocation, in its exterior consequences and in its interior spirit, it would be difficult to imagine : and the external clouds, that could not alter its serenity, were not lifted even when her life closed on earth.

The official vocation realised itself in a type of education which calls for much fuller treatment than it is accorded in the one special chapter of twenty-four pages here accorded to it. For it included the fullest trust in and freedom for the children (p. 300), vacations of modern ampleness, to maintain the sense of family life and duty (p. 292) ; a provision of beautiful classrooms and dormitories (p. 249), as to which Pugin avowed that his ideas had been improved on by the foundress ; a curriculum whose basic principle is that

" the wants of the age " must always be promptly met, and linked with the eternal truth which fixes religious and moral aims (p. 310) ; and this curriculum had many brilliant facets, such as the teaching of Greek to girls (p. 288), the use of drawing as a Christian art (p. 294), linked to the splendour of mediaeval needlework (p. 214), and the dramatic realisation of literary studies that were not English merely, but extended to foreign masterpieces rendered into English. The personality of Cornelia Connelly shone unfailingly in all this work : and a formal development of her whole structural plan is called for. For any such treatment of a system of education, fruitful by direct commission both in England and in America, her wonderful life as here effectively set out will always be an indispensable setting. T. C.

CELT AND ROMAN. By Rev. A. Gwynn, S.J., M.A. Dublin : Educational Co. of Ireland. 1922. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Nowadays most students look upon Latin, even elementary Latin, as a penance. They approach Caesar with something of the bored hostility that an anti-Irish student feels for his Irish author. This book by the Rev. A. Gwynn, S.J., M.A., is an effort to sugar the Caesar pill, at least to a student that is not anti-Irish. Caesar's *Gallic War*, as is well known, is throughout " press agency " work of the most characteristic type. It puts a decent face upon one of the most disgraceful transactions in history, the sack of a nation to pay a spendthrift politician's debts. Yet the conquest was so thorough that 2,000 years afterwards the countrymen of Vercingetorix still look upon themselves as Roman colonists !—the best example in history of the slave mind.

But Fr. Gwynn, editing his selections from Caesar for Irish students, does not let " the rascally Romans have the best of it." He looks at things from the viewpoint of the Celtic-speaking man, and his introduction dealing with the place of Gaul in the Celtic world is full of interest to an Irish student. His section on the Druids is especially valuable. The relations of the Irish Gael with Caesar's Gauls, even in language, are probably much closer than is commonly realised. Fr. Gwynn lays stress on this fact. In the selections themselves he has in some instances slightly simplified the Latin, for he edits for the beginner. He has chosen those passages in Caesar's story which will especially interest a student of Celtic leanings—the battle with the Nervii, the revolt of Ambiorix, the siege of Alesia. The sympathies of all those who can admire a great last effort for national liberty will ever be with Vercingetorix, the young hero of

the Gaul Some day his countrymen may appreciate what he attempted on their behalf. Meantime we, a body of Celtic-speaking men, far away from his home, but who have kept alive the spirit of freedom, may pay a late tribute to his name.

A. E. C.

Fiction

THE OPPIDAN. By Shane Leslie. London : Chatto & Windus. 1922. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

This "Novel of Eton" has one surpassing merit, it shows that it is possible to write an account of school-life which is neither sentimental nor disgusting. The book is absolutely frank and plainly photographic as a delineation of the denizens of the "Royal" College ; but the picture is neither unpleasant nor unmanly. To say that it is from the pen of Shane Leslie is enough to vouch that it includes many eloquent and brilliant passages, that it maintains throughout a high standard of writing, that it may be fearlessly classed as "literature." Yet we doubt if it will deeply interest its readers—except those large classes in England who either belong to Eton or feel concern in it as a national institution. The author, in the second page of his preface, says (perhaps by way of apology) : "Nothing could be duller than a school novel true to life" ; and this conviction, which we believe to be exaggerated or baseless, may account for a certain lack of psychological interest in the treatment of his boy characters and their development.

That school life is mostly wanting in thrilling incident may be allowed ; but *The Oppidan* is by no means wanting in incident. On the contrary, there are several brisk and readable episodes—the book never hangs, the construction is technically good. And that the author knows how to depict character is evident ; for he makes quite a number of the older persons, women as well as men, live in his pages and audibly breathe. Edmund Warre is drawn with the hand of a master who visualizes him colossally just as he idolizes Jenkinson and idealizes Miss Evans—while the pictures of Mr. Morley and Mrs. Sowerby are almost cruel. But the old High Church Scotch Dame is very amusing. As for the prototypes of Sir John Mumbles and Mr. Socston (who threatened to disinherit his son and heir if he did *not* get flogged and consequently learned that he was expelled), we think that they must have squirmed as they read the tale.

All the same the verdict is different as soon as we turn to the heroes of the boy-stage itself. There is only one character who pretends to provide the reader with interest ; he is called throughout by his Christian name, and the undeclared but thinly disguised auto-

biographical element in his composition has somewhat over-weighted him. Truth is often stranger than fiction, but in a novel authors can rarely do (what Dickens did no doubt), project their own mental and spiritual growth upon the canvas.

The truth is, moreover, that great as Mr. Shane Leslie's imagination is in dealing with certain aspects of nature and of life, he has not that innate sympathy for the boy which alone makes it possible to depict his minor psychology. Revolting against that school of writers who think that youth consists of the half-baked vice or virtue of grown-ups, and divide all boys into prigs and sinners, our author treats the schoolboy as a healthy young animal, and nothing more. He has failed to realise that even as a subject for art the budding human can be transcendently great—that he is unapproachably interesting to those who know how to sound his depths. Shane Leslie knows that there is mystery in life, but the greatest mystery of all he has scarcely essayed to penetrate. But his familiarity with Eton and its past history is something prodigious. H. B.

History

IRELAND FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By Robert Dunlop, M.A. Oxford University Press. 1922. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

Having regard to the size of Mr. Dunlop's book and the period which it undertakes to cover, one might at first be inclined to regard it as merely a school text-book, more or less uncritical and superficial. This, however, it is not. Within the compass of its 208 pages it gives a surprising number of facts ; on most it furnishes us with the result of recent research, and on many with original views.

It is perhaps inevitable, having regard to space limitations, that there should be a certain lack of perspective, so that important events fail to stand out of their surroundings and give the reader a correct notion of their value as causes or effects. A more serious fault from the Irish point of view is that few of our national heroes have justice done them, so that a person making his first acquaintance with them in Mr. Dunlop's book would be inclined to wonder how they had come to be regarded by their countrymen as heroes at all. Thus, of Art McMurrogh we learn nothing except that he submitted to Richard II., and subsequently eluded the attempts of that monarch to "catch" him, by hiding in the woods. Shane O'Neill receives praise for his abilities in diplomacy and in war ; but it is certainly unfair to lessen the force of his claim to his father's inheritance by speaking of the legitimacy of his elder

brother as "doubtful," whereas Matthew's illegitimacy was a well-known fact, never denied by anyone.

Hugh O'Neill—always spoken of as "Tyrone"—is said to have been "at bay" in 1595, and "still at large" in 1601. At the former date he was by far the most powerful chief in Ireland; while at the latter most of Tirowen remained yet under his rule. But most unfair of all is the treatment of the heroic James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald. We are allowed the choice of considering him to have been the silly dupe of "Jesuit" intrigue, or a traitor labouring to rob and supplant his cousin the Earl of Desmond.

It is pleasant to find (on page 109) so high an appreciation of Archbishop Rinuccini, whose political wisdom is often undervalued, even by those who admit his sincerity. The same may be said of the treatment of O'Connell and his work (pages 162 and 163). Many of our young politicians of to-day might, with advantage, ponder over the following passage:—"It was to O'Connell's persistent advocacy of the Catholic claims . . . that the regeneration of Ireland was due. It was easy, after the victory had been won and Irishmen had been awakened from the torpor that had fallen on them, to belittle his achievements and sneer at his political doctrines. . . . It was he who poured new life-blood in her [Ireland's] veins, and, like another Moses, led her people out of the house of bondage to within sight of the promised land."

When treating of the causes which brought about "the Flight of the Earls" in 1607, Mr. Dunlop makes no allusion to the accusations made by Lord Howth against O'Neill and O'Donnell; to the interference with their religion; to the numerous other injuries and insults of which they later in their declarations complained. He offers no reason for their abandonment of their country and their lands, except "Tyrone's" quarrel with O'Cahan. So, too, he considers that for the rebellion of 1641 there was "no sufficient reason," since, "except for their desire to obtain a confirmation of the *Graces*, the Catholics had no particular ground of complaint." This is surely to ignore the bitterness left by the Plantation of Ulster, the feeling of insecurity produced amongst Irish landowners by Wentworth's Connacht Plantation Scheme, and the dread of religious persecution' engendered by the threats of highly-placed Irish officials and by the reports of what the English Parliament had already done in this regard on the other side of the Channel.

In conclusion, a few minor matters may be mentioned. One is curious to know on what authority Dun Aengus, on the island of Aran Mór, is described as a Phoenician fort (page 9), or why it is said (page 30), when speaking of Dermot MacMurrogh, that, "failing

heirs male of his own, his legitimate successor was his brother's son," as if primogeniture were the regular system in the kingdom of Leinster. Dr. Nicholas Sander was not a Jesuit (page 78); and not John Claudius Beresford, whom Fitzwilliam dismissed, but his father, John Beresford, was known as "the King of Ireland" (page 151). M. T. H.

HISTOIRE DE LA NATION FRANCAISE. Tome VI. Histoire Réligieuse. Par Georges Goyau. Paris: Plon-Nourrit. 1922. 48 fr.

The Roman Church had known two great perils [between A.D. 200 and 750]; our country had saved her from both . . . Arius . . . Islam. . . . We were not only the defenders of Christianity, but also its propagators; when there was question of the evangelisation of Ireland, of England, of Germany, initiative or help was contributed by France. To a Merovingian king wrote Gregory the Great: . . . —"The singular dignity which you possess and others do not is that of being Catholic. And as a torch burns with singular brilliance amid the darkness of deep night, so does the brilliance of your faith shine out amid the darkness of infidelity which encompasses other peoples."

This passage, taken from an early chapter of M. Goyau's great work, illustrates something of its spirit. The oft-quoted phrase, "gesta Dei per Francos," might have appropriately served as its epigraph. From out the general trail and turmoil of the long career of the Church the author has detected and selected what especially belongs to France, has marked out France's share in the great Catholic epic, with an evident understanding of the whole, but with a patriot's eye for the significance of the part. He is a historian, but also a Catholic; he is a Catholic, but also a Frenchman.

And this, no doubt, when due respect is paid to simple Truth, when the historian is competent, is what ought to be. Without guiding ideas or principles or interests, the historian will not only sink into the chronicler, but will be a dull, and is likely to be an inefficient, chronicler. He will be without eager industry, without sagacious *flair*, without the warmth of style that wins readers. That M. Goyau has never been led by prepossessions or other human weaknesses into exaggeration or error we are not prepared to maintain: unfriendly criticism and minute scholarship will doubtless find him not impervious to attack. But we have no doubt as to the general mastery of details which characterises his work and which, added to its general largeness and justness of view and its power of selecting, grouping and presenting isolated facts, renders it at once valuable and attractive. So effective a presentation of so much important truth deserves a wide welcome. It ought to make impossible the further dissemination of certain falsehoods too long a stock-in-trade of certain propagandists.

The plan of the book has, naturally, some drawbacks. It involves the disadvantages common to all efforts to isolate periods or streams of history. Inevitably Catholicism is here presented to us from an invariably French point of view; no less inevitably French history is here presented from an exclusively religious point of view. That these limitations have hardly at all injured, for a duly qualified reader, the special value of this "Histoire Religieuse" marks out strongly, we think, both the general and special competence of its author. Without undue ignoring of the parts played by other men in other lands, M. Goyau renders justice to a bismillennial succession of great Catholic influences that may be claimed as in some sense, if not entirely, French; that arise to the mind when we pronounce such names as Charlemagne, Cluny, the Crusaders, Montmartre, St. Margaret Mary, "Missions Etrangères," Lourdes; that make up a higher, more inward and essential history of men, compared with which wars and treaties are but superficial happenings.

In tracing the record of services which Christianity has rendered to France and of those which, through Christianity, France has rendered to the world, M. Goyau touches inevitably on many acutely-controverted questions. At all such points his control of relevant facts renders him a champion not to be rashly attacked. On the alleged apostolic origin of various Gallic churches he is eminently discreet and moderate. On Scotist and Thomist contentions he touches not only with understanding, but with a lightness which is an agreeable surprise. Amid the confusions of the sixteenth century he is at home; the three-cornered contests of humanists, Catholics and Protestants find in him a highly-interested and acute evaluator and exponent. Certain episodes, such as the St. Bartholomew massacre, which have constantly been magnified (or misrepresented) out of all due proportion, are here shown in their proper dimensions. The conflicting intolerances are set well before us—the burnings of heretics, "which often," as said a Catholic of that day, "did more harm than a hundred [Protestant] ministers"; the iconoclastic savagery of "reformers," which kept alive the popular willingness to see them burnt.

As French influences on Ireland, so Irish influences on France are not ignored. St. Columbanus is well presented; of Scotus Erigena perhaps more might have been said. The curious theological and ecclesiastical activities of Charlemagne are brought into high relief. But neither at this point nor elsewhere does the author fail to place in its due light and prominence the part played by Papal Rome—its important and uninterrupted association with the Christianity of France.

The numerous illustrations provided by M. Maurice Denis have provoked (at least as regards the coloured plates) a considerable volume of controversy in France. It would take too long to even state here the cases of the contending parties; meantime the present reviewer must rank himself with those who do not admire. The artist's treatment of such a modern historical subject as the Jesuit vows at Montmartre will rather provoke a smile than help to an understanding. His peculiar manner fits more harmoniously certain earlier scenes portrayed; but even among these such inventions as the "Martyre de Ste. Blandine" seem to belong rather to a "Golden Legend" for the Christmas market than to a serious volume of history. In other cases the verdict might be: "Happily conceived, but unhappily executed." G. O N.

THEORY AND HISTORY OF HISTORIOGRAPHY. By Benedetto Croce. Translated by Douglas Ainslie. London: Harrap. 1921. 15*s.* net.

Benedetto Croce is a philosopher who at the moment enjoys a very considerable vogue—a vogue by no means confined to his own country. He may be described as an independent Hegelian. He is very determined to root out any remnants of metaphysical prejudices or unconscious metaphysical presuppositions which still cling to post-Kantian speculation. An essay of his that has appeared in English bears the title "What is living and What is dead in the Philosophy of Hegel." If his own system is to be the practical touchstone, the unsympathetic and perhaps somewhat cynical critic may find it hard to resist the temptation to answer that the philosophy is dead, the elaborate verbiage alone flourishes.

For when one has studied the three volumes in which Croce expounds the fundamental ideas of his Philosophy of Mind, it is difficult to decide whether it is platitudes or paradoxes that have occupied the attention, so vague and indefinitely expressed is much of the speculation. If it be true, what Croce himself so eloquently insists on, that whoever has an intuition or idea can clearly express it, then it is not easy to see how he himself can obtain a favourable verdict. And this, despite the possession of a style which for those who merely seek an idea here and there to stimulate them to further thought or to operate with in "learned conversation," can only be described as highly attractive.

And yet it would be a mistake to dismiss Croce as merely a "fine and pretentious writer." For despite all his indefiniteness, it is evident that he represents, if not a reasoned system, yet a philosophic conception of or attitude to the world and life.

Now the principal value of the present volume is that it ought to prove extremely useful in the elucidation of some of his most important guiding ideas and "conclusions." On the whole it is calculated to throw more light on Croce's thought than on the theory of History. It cannot, indeed, be understood apart from that thought. It is confessedly not an "independent" study, but an elaboration of some chapters of the Logic. In fact, in its manner of driving home the identification of Philosophy and History, "the concrete thinking of experience," it may be looked on as the culmination of the whole system.

In these circumstances an exposition of the leading ideas in this volume cannot reasonably be expected in a review—as it would in reality mean a presentation of Croce's whole philosophy. There are undoubtedly many ideas with which, if they were isolated, the reader would find himself in entire or partial agreement. This is especially true of those destructive criticisms which he levels against many prevalent ideas of history. But nothing could be less in accord with Croce's spirit than thus to isolate and denaturalise his thoughts and make them "abstract." The same considerations must govern our view of the second part of the book, which is devoted to a critico-historical survey of historiography. Thus, however much one may agree or disagree with different theses, they can only be properly appreciated when assigned their place in what at least strives to be an organic whole.

In general this essay displays much the same general characteristics as the three chief volumes. The same vagueness, the same tantalising obscurities and equivocations—so familiar in modern "idealism," no matter how "objective"—in the use of terms like "thought," "mind or spirit," "experience," and a host of others. Here, as elsewhere, Croce is fond of an epigram or paradox, though, as too often happens, a mere jingle may be the result. And yet, despite all, the critic must often sigh for the brilliant style as well as for the intense ardour and caustic powers with which he flagellates the nonsense of his opponents. J. M. O'S.

Belloc on Christians and Others

EUROPE AND THE FAITH. By Hilaire Belloc. London: Constable. 1920. 17*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE JEWS. By Hilaire Belloc. Constable. 1922. 9*s.* net.

THE MERCY OF ALLAH. By Hilaire Belloc. London: Chatto and Windus. 1922. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

This book will be a surprise to most people who have received the ordinary education of Ireland, England or the U.S.A. It puts

the Catholic case in a way that will never have occurred to them. The unity of Christendom, its immense value to humanity and the terrible blow dealt to it by the Reformation, is a topic never touched on by English writers, who invite us to admire the present state of European confusion much as Shakespeare invites us to admire the hideous Wars of the Roses. In the English education which most of us receive, the doctrine is implicit, that to demand the unity of civilisation is a crime against intellect and progress. Many who take up this book for the first time will find it hard to rid their minds of this piece of insular folly. In fact the Catholic point of view in history and politics is the last thing that anyone in Ireland is aware of.

Belloc's book is most interesting, but as usual it is in certain respects deliberately unfair. It seeks to fit Christianity into the Procrustean bed of the Roman Empire, thus excluding Germany from the fold. In fact, it all but identifies Christianity with the Roman Empire. The Germanic elements in Gaul are argued out of existence, while by a long and specious train of reasoning the effects of Roman occupation in Britain are carried down almost to our own time. With such premises, Ireland becomes Christian only by miracle—a fact duly noted.

The disaster of the Reformation is rightly attributed to the defection of England, itself made possible by the slavish devotion of all men in the sixteenth century to absolute monarchy. But is it not pushing it a little far to say that it was the Roman civilisation of England, implanted by Caesar and Agricola, that made this defection so important ? This is the author's contention. The work of Celtic Christianity is not fully realised.

The book will prove most interesting to an Irish Catholic, intellectually nourished on Macaulay and the daily press. It opens a new world of thought to him, giving a political and economic justification to things which he fondly thought to have only a pietic one.

II. Mr. Belloc's *The Jews* is the wickedest book that has been written against Jews for a long time ; all the more so as it is written in a strain of impartiality, really felt and yet in reality wholly absent. It is throughout the friendly criticism of an enemy, or (as a Jewish gentleman put it to me) the moral is : " Don't nail his ears to the pump." Belloc starts from the proposition that the Jew is of necessity an alien, incapable of absorption into any nation ; he argues then that kind treatment, as in modern Britain, results in giving the Jew power without patriotism, that as this alien power increases, national feeling must rise against it, till it ends inevitably

in persecution and expulsion. This cycle of toleration, kind treatment, persecution has recurred again and again in history, he tells us. The Conservative revolt that has just taken place in England as I write is indeed, so far as it goes, some confirmation of these theories, as it is in part directed against Jewish influence.

Belloc's proposed remedy is that Jews should be openly treated as and should admit themselves to be foreigners, that they should develop separate institutions for Jews in each community as they have already developed separate schools. The points which he stresses most are the controlling influence of Jews in finance, in the press, in the theatrical world, and in the ownership of certain essential metals, *e.g.*, lead, nickel and mercury. The strongest point he makes against them is a tendency to combination under conditions of secrecy. As an argument that clinches all his former ones he cites the prominent position taken by Jews in the recent Russian revolution, and says in effect that this is the last straw in the matter of their toleration by Christians. One may suspect that not a little of Belloc's feeling against the Jew comes from his own partly foreign extraction. It reminds one of the Anglo-Indian Kipling's hatred of Irishmen.

Now it must be admitted that Jews, a small number of Jews, are dug into the institutions that are most hateful in the modern world—Freemasonry (this point Belloc does not labour), the capitalist press, and, above all, high finance. The people who suffer most by modern evils, the hungriest elements in the capitalist system, are other Jews who are in most cases truer to their faith and race than the Jewish capitalist. The connection of a few excommunicate Jews with the Russian revolution is little more than an accident, the general tendency of Judaism being by no means against property, and even the Russian revolution itself is probably much less hostile to that institution than is commonly imagined.

But the real explanation is this. If you looked at the position of the Irish in America a generation ago—things are different now—you would find them engaged in secret combinations and connected with the least reputable institutions in the country—ward-politics and the saloons. So in Ulster Catholic money was chiefly to be found in the retail liquor trade. No other lucrative occupation was allowed to them. Some Jews have gone what seems a far step from this, since they own great newspapers and direct the mysteries of finance. But the truth is that even newspapers and finance, with all their power, are not the solid good things of life that the native keeps for himself, that endure from generation

to generation. As Belloc points out, Jewish wealth does not last long in any family. The solid settled ownership of land, that keeps men rooted in the soil, is what really counts in national life. The sensational excitements of high finance or journalism, soon got, are soon gone. Even the jobs obtained by freemasonry or saloon influence may be permitted to the stranger. But it is but one stage beyond the starvation employments allowed to his less happy brethren. Jews are compelled to be millionaires or cabinet ministers, as they are compelled to be sweated tailors, because they have not made their way into the solid, comfortable employments of life. And in the case of the Jewish race, as of the Irish race out of Ireland, their chance of happy settlement in any community depends upon their winning a share of the humdrum respectabilities of existence, removed alike from the sensational triumphs of the speculator and the dire oppression of the submerged classes. These are the real prizes of existence to which an alien race finds it all but impossible to attain.

III. Those who having read Mr. Belloc on the Jews expect a like treatment of the Mussulman will be disappointed with his *Mercy of Allah*. Even the frontispiece by Chesterton is misleading. Various chapters deal with pearls, camels, dates, etc., and strange hieroglyphs, presumed to be Arab words, stain the page at intervals; but it is all a parable, an attack on English government and international finance, exposed with the accustomed incisiveness of their author. Belloc probably gives you more light on British civilisation as it really is, than any other commentator of our time. Here is an excellent description of Britain under the figurative name of Dirak :—

> It seemed that in this admirable region the Rich rule unquestioned to the immense profit of the state. The Sultan is kept on a strict allowance, that he may be the puppet of the great merchants, bankers and landholders who are the masters of the commonwealth and of him. The middle classes are allowed a livelihood, but no possessions and are proud of their small incomes, which usually put them above the artizans; while the populace are content to swarm in hovels underground, to work hard all day and all the year round for a little food, and to revere and acclaim the rich with frenzied cheers on all public occasions. Laws and proclamations are purchased, and their administration is in the hands of the rich, of whom a select few sit upon the bench and condemn a fixed number of the populace, and a few of the middle classes every year by way of discipline and example. No man possessing more than a hundred thousand gold pieces worth of land or stock can be punished; and if a poor man tell any unpleasing thing of such a one he is beaten till he admits his falsehood or, if he prove obstinate, slowly starved to death.

This is excellent, as are also his descriptions of the effects of paper money, government loans, the exploitation of genius, the trials of a litigant appearing in person, and the like. And yet when all is said, the story palls a little. The note of cynicism is too sustained. It never varies. Even Juvenal sometimes nods, Belloc

never. The result is that as a social criticism such a book is most useful, as a story it fails. Chesterton can tell a story, even when he is most bent on expounding a point; Belloc can't, or at all events won't. All his novels break on the same rock. One would like to see him try his hand at a downright sentimental "slushy" narrative —"If Drought comes in the Desert," or something like that. It would probably be a great success. As it is, his stories will have a public confined to economists and politicians. A. E. Clery.

Philosophy

THE MISUSE OF MIND. A Study of Bergson's Attack on Intellectualism. By Karin Stephen. London: Kegan Paul. 1922. 6*s.* 6*d.* net.

BERGSON'S DOCTRINE OF INTUITION. By A. A. Luce, M.C., D.D. London: S.P.C.K. 1922. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

These two books have precisely the same object. They both propose to give an accurate and sympathetic exposition of Bergson's philosophy. That Mrs. Stephen has succeeded in her task is proved by a prefatory note written by Bergson himself. He writes: "She has been able to unify and to present with great logical rigour views which I was obliged by my methods of research to treat in isolation." Dr. Luce deserves equal praise for the clearness with which he has expounded Bergson's teaching.

Both authors are quite aware of the danger of Bergson's method of Intuition. "It is possible," writes Mrs. Stephen, "that some people who do not understand this philosophy may use Bergson's name as a cloak for giving up all self-direction and letting themselves go intellectually to pieces, just as hooligans may use a time of revolution to plunder in the name of the Red Guard." "Any teacher of philosophy," writes Dr. Luce, "sees the dangers attending the doctrine of Intuition. The road may be safe, but it needs fences." We fully agree with these views regarding the danger of Bergson's method. The danger is not, however, we think, confined to intellectual "hooligans." The results of the method, even in the hands of Bergson, are not encouraging.

The two authors agree again in refusing to take any responsibility for Bergson's doctrines, while they abstain systematically from any criticism of them. Dr. Luce declares that he holds no brief for Bergsonism, and that he proposes neither to defend nor attack it. Mrs. Stephen constantly safeguards herself by phrases like "If Bergson is right." But she never explains the grounds of her misgivings.

It is a pity that neither author has attempted to criticise Bergson. Both are obviously competent to do it. We should like to have their views on Bergson's very unsound teaching regarding abstraction and universals. We should like to know what Dr. Luce thinks of Bergson's extraordinary contention that we can never know future events, and that when an astronomer, for instance, predicts an eclipse, " his prevision is in reality vision." This explanation of the astronomer's knowledge is regarded by Dr. Luce as subtle. He omits to mention whether he considers the subtlety misplaced. One would have thought that a distinction between free future events and necessary future events was called for, especially as Bergson is a firm believer in free will. Perhaps, after all, Bergson is just tampering with the meaning of the word " future."

Though the two books under review have so much in common, they do not cover exactly the same ground. Mrs. Stephen keeps to the general principles of Bergson's teaching ; Dr. Luce gives in detail his doctrine on such subjects as Free Will and Evolution.

P. B.

Politics and Economics

L'ENTREPRISE GOUVERNEMENTALE ET SON ADMINISTRATION. Par Albert Schatz. Paris : Grasset. 1922. 6 fr. 75.

L'INCAPACITE INDUSTRIELLE DE L'ETAT : Les P.T.T. Par Henri Fayol. Paris : Dunod. 5 fr.

STATE AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By Professor Everett Kimball. London and Boston : Ginn. 1922. 17*s.* 6*d.*

DAIL EIREANN—CONSTITUTION OF SAORSTAT EIREANN BILL AS AMENDED ON REPORT. Dublin : Eason. 1922. 1*s.*

If it does not savour of cynicism under present conditions in Ireland, one would like to direct attention to some recent European and American theories and developments in the science of government organisation and administration. The most interesting of these is associated with the French " Centre d'Etudes Administratives," of which M. Henri Fayol is the spokesman and leading thinker. It aims at introducing into the management of the state those methods which have led to the success of industrial enterprise —namely, foresight, organisation, co-ordination and control— in other words, to provide the state with a business administration. The chief principle of such administration is that all business enterprises need a manager, and that an enterprise with an incompetent manager or without a manager is like an individual without brains. Every successful business must have unity of direction, a clearly defined object, its manager must have the right

to command and expect obedience, and the responsibility which goes with such right.

Applying these business principles to government enterprise, M. Fayol and his school find the incapacity of the modern state made manifest. Examining the popular remedies proposed, they classify them under three heads: political reform, revolution, syndicalism. Taking their stand on the words of Hume that "an established government has infinite advantages by reason of the sole fact that it is established," they can see no fundamental benefit in discarding the republican form of government in France; revolution, with its consequent upheaval and destruction of social and economic life, they find to be more sterile and infinitely more dangerous; whilst syndicalism, which commits the error of seeing in the syndicate the cell of the social organism, provides only an incomplete and partial solution.

Discarding, then, all these remedies, they find the source of disorder in modern government to be inefficient administration and the refusal of the State to confine itself to its proper functions. In their view it fulfils badly both its own functions and those which it has usurped. They regard it as incapable of administering successfully a commercial or industrial enterprise such as the railways or the post office; and they insist, if it is to efficiently discharge the duties of government, that it must concentrate on the administration of government functions properly so called, and disencumber itself of undertakings which it is radically incapable of managing. In France such undertakings are represented by the National Printing Office, the Forest Department, the manufacture of tobacco and matches, the manufacture of Sèvres china and of tapestry, and the State railways. The management of these affairs encumbers not only the work of government but the work of legislation.

Looking into the future, they perceive that the nation as an economic unit is about to be displaced by the federation of nations, and that in this new era national government must be stable and efficient, concerning itself only with fundamentals. In its administration they hold each department will require two specialists: one to define and translate the will of the people, the other to execute it. The first must possess political and parliamentary ability, the second administrative ability; the first will necessarily change with the change of national opinion, the second must be permanent. The political head of a department ought to fulfil three functions. He establishes a *liaison* between his department and parliament; he lays before the cabinet of ministers full information as to his department's activities, and he controls the execution of the orders

it receives. The permanent head of the department has two functions—namely, to take the necessary measures to carry out the orders of the political head and to furnish the latter with full information as to his department's needs and with the necessary data for the formulation of policy. Acting on these principles, M. Fayol would reduce the ministers of state in France to seven: President of Cabinet (without portfolio), Minister of Interior Security (Police and Justice), Minister of Exterior Security (Army and Navy), Minister of National Economy (Commerce, Production, Education, Social Institutions), Minister of the Colonies, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Minister of Finance—each acting in conjunction with a permanent head of his department or departments.

In a searching analysis of the French Post Office administration he exposes the evils of the present system, and shows that in every department of state there must be not only a political chief to give orders and establish a *liaison* with the government, but also a permanent chief whose duty it will be, under successive political chiefs, to foresee, to organise, to command, to co-ordinate and control, as does the managing director of a properly organised company. By thus reducing the area of governmental control and placing government administration on a business basis, he claims that the true functions of government would be properly exercised.

Running, as they do, directly contrary to the socialist projects for an ever widening and (may we add ?) increasingly inefficient state ownership of all essential industrial services, and reducing instead of increasing the number of state functionaries, these theories are well worthy of study by the government of Ireland. The Constitution of the Irish Free State contains no provision that should prevent the organisation of Irish government on business lines, and the much discussed Article 45 gives the Irish Parliament the right to establish functional or vocational councils representing branches of the social and economic life of the nation and to determine their powers, rights and duties. It will thus be in a position to disencumber the government of unnecessary functions and to concentrate on essentials. Adapting M. Fayol's classification, one might suggest that an Irish Cabinet should consist of the following ministers:—President of Council (without portfolio), Minister of Interior Security (Police and Justice), Minister of Exterior Security (Defence and Foreign Affairs), Minister of National Economy (Agriculture, Commerce, Production), Minister of Education and Social Institutions, and Minister of Finance. The Constitution provides for a possible ministry of twelve; but we trust this is not meant seriously. It is eloquent of modern tendencies to find that

the new Italian Fascisti Government is about to turn the railways and the post office over to private enterprise. That such services should be under government supervision is essential, and M. Fayol does not deny it; but that they should be under government administration is unnecessary and undesirable.

In the United States the organisation of government on business lines has also made tremendous strides, principally in the department of local government. I have already described the most interesting of these developments, the government of cities by the commission and city manager plans ("City Management in America," *Studies*, March, 1920). Professor Kimball, in his excellent and comprehensive *State and Municipal Government in the United States*, which discusses the organisation, the distribution of powers and functions, and the operation of these agencies of local government, deals very fully with the matter, and points out that there are to-day approximately 350 commission-governed cities and two hundred cities having city managers. The city manager system of municipal government is really an application of M. Fayol's theories to city government, because it concentrates in one hand the administrative functions of the city. Professor Kimball's conclusion concerning the city manager plan is that it has resulted in greater administrative efficiency. The work of the various heads of departments is co-ordinated and kept in harmony through the manager, while the discipline and direction of the municipal employees is taken out of politics and governed by principles of efficiency. This method has done a good deal for the improvement of cities, without increasing the tax rate. It has become a permanent type of American municipal government, and will probably be extended. It is a logical development of the attempt to place the government of cities upon a business basis.

Professor Kimball properly deplores the American tendency to increase the length of state constitutions and to include in them materials which might more properly be found in statutes. The Irish Constitution is fortunately free from this fault. He also thinks that, in spite of all criticism, the initiative and referendum have probably become a permanent part of the political machinery of the state. No state which has adopted these instruments has ever abolished them, and more and more states are adopting them. Another conclusion at which he arrives, and which should be taken to heart in Ireland, is that state and federal laws are not properly administered by local police officers, as the state administrative authorities cannot appoint them, remove them, or discipline them.

In spite of many defects, municipal government in the United

States has steadily improved in the last twenty years, and Lord Bryce's description of it as the "one conspicuous failure" in the American system of government is no longer applicable. When, if ever, Ireland discovers that real patriotism is constructive and not destructive, it would be well that some group should be formed to study the best modern methods of government with a view to adapting them and applying them to our national needs. There is much valuable work to be done in this direction, and it will repay the doing.

John J. Horgan.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CIVIL SERVICE. Lectures delivered before the Society of Civil Servants, 1920-1921. With Preface by Viscount Haldane of Cloan, O.M. London: King. 1922. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

This volume should be peculiarly welcome to Irish readers at a time when all our institutions are in the melting pot, and when it is in our own hands to remould them as we will. Not the least of our great institutions is the Civil Service, which may be expected to play an increasing rather than a diminishing part in our national life in the future, and it is therefore a matter of the utmost importance that we should understand the special problems and difficulties with which that Service has had to deal elsewhere. The present volume consists of a series of lectures delivered before the English Society of Civil Servants, and contains a number of highly interesting and suggestive discussions, which will give much food for reflection to the thoughtful Irish reader.

Lord Haldane points out in his introduction that administration is a science as well as an art, but that the full development of that science is frequently hampered and frustrated by the interference of ignorant, officious, and muddle-headed politicians. As Lord Eustace Percy says, in his excellent lecture on *The Civil Service and Foreign Policy*, a Civil Service may be reduced to impotence and inefficiency in two ways—"one way is to have no policy and to give it no instructions, and the other is to have more than one policy and to give it conflicting instructions." It is to the solution of the problem created by this apparently inevitable conflict between the Civil Service and the legislature that Mr. Harold Laski devotes himself in what is probably the most useful lecture in the collection, *The Civil Service and Parliament.* Mr. Laski is of opinion that much of the existing friction and misunderstanding between members of Parliament and the Civil Service in England is due to the insufficient contact between them, and he suggests as remedial measures the abolition of the custom that administrative publica-

tions should be anonymous, the creation of permanently sitting committees of the House of Commons to supervise the working of each department, the attendance of expert civil servants at committees of the House, and the encouragement of further co-ordination between the departments themselves. There is not a single one of these suggestions that could not be adopted in Ireland, where we hope they will be given the full consideration which is due to every opinion of Mr. Laski on these matters.

All the lectures in the present collection are full of interest, and none of them can be neglected by the student of administrative reform. There are two, however, in particular which from the importance of the subject with which they deal merit especial attention. These are the lectures by Sir Lawrence Weaver on *The State as Trader*, and by Sir Herbert Morgan on *The Limits of State Participation in Industry*. Both these gentlemen are big business men, whose services were utilized by public departments during the war, and they have consequently the advantage of a thorough inside knowledge both of the private and the public conduct of business affairs. It is interesting, therefore, to note that they agree in their conclusions as to the very limited range of industrial and commercial enterprises which the State can successfully conduct. Sir Lawrence Weaver is of opinion that the methods of financial control and accounting which are necessary when public money is being dealt with are quite unsuitable for ordinary business, and would have the inevitable effect of paralysing enterprise and improvement. Moreover, the system by which public servants are appointed and promoted is not calculated to bring to the front the men best fitted for business life; and no successful manager would tolerate the incessant interference and supervision which accompany political control. Sir Herbert Morgan very wisely emphasizes the danger of public departments employing large numbers of manual labourers, as every strike against wages or the other conditions of employment would be liable to develop into a revolt against the authority of the State. Of this danger we have had a recent experience in Ireland. Another evil incident to the public conduct of industry is that one class of the community may be unjustly benefited at the expense of another. As Sir Lawrence Weaver well puts it: "Everybody eats bread, but not everybody pays income tax."

The three lectures to which we have referred are characteristic of the high standard of the whole book, which ought to be read and digested by everybody who is interested in the future administration of Ireland. It is to be hoped that the Civil Service in this

country will found some institution analogous to the English Society of Civil Servants, to whose enterprise we owe the publication of these excellent lectures. G. O'B.

SOCIALISATION IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. By Heinrich Ströbel. Trans. by H. J. Stenning. London: King, 1922 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

HEINRICH STRÖBEL is not merely one of the most eminent historians and economists of modern Germany, but has been Finance Minister of the Socialist Government of Prussia in 1918, and still remains a convinced and active member of the Social Democratic Party. Though, in common with practically all German Socialists, he considers State Socialism as both impracticable and undesirable, he is convinced that some form of socialisation should be applied to the basic industries of all industrialised nations. In the present book he examines the various efforts at Socialisation which have been made or suggested in modern times. Bolshevism of the Russian and Hungarian type is condemned by him as extravagantly criminal, being destructive to all economic life and particularly to the welfare of the working classes. The Wissell-Mollendorff economic scheme he condemns as leaving unchecked nearly all the abuses of Capitalism. He then submits to a searching analysis the recommendation of the two Prussian Socialisation Committees. In the end he is inclined to favour the proposals of the English Guild Socialism school or the similar schemes of Lederer and Horten.

This, the constructive part of his book, is not, however, very convincing. Though he denounces the timidity of those who fear any form of socialisation as a "leap in the dark," he scarcely succeeds in showing that his favourite proposals differ from the previous "leaps in the dark" which he condemns so strongly. Some move forward—at least a gradual and tentative progress—he considers absolutely necessary. He therefore urges on his Socialist brethren a more careful study of the whole problem so as to cast light on their future steps, and he insists—apparently begging the question of the advisability of Socialisation—on the necessity of winning over the middle classes without whose co-operation no effort at Socialisation can ever be successful. His advocacy (in the concluding chapter) of the nationalisation of banks seems somewhat similar to the scheme of credit-nationalisation which Major Douglas advocates as the *via regia* to social peace. L. McK.

Religion

THE STATE AND THE CHURCH. By John A. Ryan, D.D., LL.D., and Moorhouse F. X. Millar, S.J. Written and edited for the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Council. New York: Macmillan. 1922. $2.25.

MANY of our readers are no doubt aware that American Catholics are taking energetic steps, under the guidance of their Bishops, to quicken and co-ordinate their efforts for the defence and furtherance of Catholic interests throughout the United States. The history of the movement—for it already has a history—deserves to be written: it will give eloquent testimony to the courage and energy of American Catholics, lay and clerical, and will offer a much needed example to not a few other countries, where Catholics should be a power because of their numbers, but have little or no influence for want of spirit or organisation.[1] We may not, however, pursue these thoughts at present; in this place we are only to give a brief account of a book which the Catholic Welfare Council of America has just published for the guidance of American Catholics.

The State and the Church is excellently compiled. I say "compiled" advisedly; for it makes no pretension to novelty of doctrine; and it is written—as every such book ought to be—with a simplicity and directness of language which make it easily intelligible to any ordinary reader. It consists of various short treatises by various authors—first among them being Pope Leo XIII.'s Encyclical on the Christian Constitution of States, with some forty pages of valuable commentary by Dr. Ryan. This commentary, indeed, sums up shortly a good deal of what is to be found more at length in the treatises which follow. Next after the commentary comes a translation of Cardinal Billot's chapters on the "Moral Origin of Civil Authority" in his work on the *Church of Christ.* It and the succeeding pages on "Sovereignty and Consent," by Fr. Charles Macksey, S.J., are intended to show that civil authority vests primarily in the people, and is then transferred by them, under whatever reasonable conditions they think proper, to the rulers whom they appoint. The question is one which has been hotly debated within a select circle in recent years; but it is of little practical moment: for if it be once admitted—as everyone now admits—that the people may choose the form of government they will, may determine the conditions under which the supreme authority is to be exercised, and may change their rulers and form

[1] [An article on the National Catholic Welfare Council of America, unavoidably held over, will appear in our next issue.—Editor.]

of government when public necessity demands a change, the controversy about the exact function of the people—do they merely designate their rulers, while God himself directly bestows authority upon the persons designated; or do the people at once appoint those who are to exercise authority, and bestow that authority which is already vested in themselves—is purely academic: it matters nothing to the freedom of the people or the stability of government.

Of the other papers in the volume the most interesting and the most useful are those on the end and functions of the State by Dr. Ryan. In these days of "triumphant democracy," when all manner of rights and duties are attributed to the State which belong properly to the family and the individual, it is a public service to explain clearly and convincingly, as Dr. Ryan does, the province within which State authority may rightfully be exercised. It were to be wished that some of his pages might be reprinted and placed in the hands of certain modern legislators—of those particularly who feel "called" to busy themselves with education.

But the whole book will repay careful perusal; and we can confidently recommend it to all our readers. P. F.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND THE CATHOLIC FAITH. Including a Brief Account of New Thought and other Modern Mental Healing Movements. By A. M. Bellwald, S.M., S.T.L. London: Longmans. 1922. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

IT was the good fortune, or otherwise, of the present writer, when first setting out, more than a dozen years ago, to make acquaintance with the tenets of Christian Science, to stumble upon that section of Mrs. Eddy's *Miscellaneous Writings* which is entitled "Poems." He is free to confess that the impression then made was ineffaceable and irreformable. The woman who wrote that drivel was intellectually a thing of naught. Listen to this single stanza from her poem (!) on "the Isle of Wight":—

> Students wise, he maketh now thus
> Those who fish in waters deep,
> When the buried Master hails us
> From the shores afar, complete.

If anyone should suppose that the context serves to elucidate the meaning we can only answer briefly—"it doesn't." There is not a glimmer of illumination either in what goes before or what follows after. That an editor, in straits to fill up a corner of vacant space, might at the last moment print this jetsam retrieved from his waste-paper basket is conceivable. But that the middle-aged

author should complacently continue to reprint the verses of which this stanza is a fair specimen, through *a hundred* carefully revised editions, without being disturbed by such details as that *deep* does not rhyme with *complete*, is proof of an audacity of self-confidence which can only be described as *kolossal*. Moreover this note of illiteracy attaches not only to the foundress of Christian Science, but to the whole governing body. Some years after Mrs. Eddy's death, when America came into the War, the Christain Science Board of Directors resuscitated a copy of verses of hers addressed to Great Britain, thus :—

> Hail, brother ! fling thy banner
> To the billows and the breeze ;
> We proffer thee warm welcome
> With our hand, though not our knees.
>
> Lord of the main and manor !
> Thy palm, in ancient day,
> Didst rock the country's cradle
> That wakes thy laureate's lay.

There are four other stanzas of equal merit, but the verses were printed with all possible solemnity in the *Christian Science Sentinel*, "in order," we are told, "that Christian Scientists may have an opportunity to ponder the metaphysical significance of Mrs. Eddy's words."

It is this kind of thing which sensibly allays our apprehension that Christian Science, even with its rapid diffusion and vast financial resources, is likely to prove a permanent source of mischief. Pretentious ignorance is inevitably bound to be found out in the long run. As Father Bellwald shows in Chapter XV of the excellent work before us, the process of disintegration has already begun. To our thinking the New Thought movement, with all its fluidity, vagueness and want of centralisation, is a much more serious menace to the Christian revelation. But Fr. Bellwald has done well to demonstrate that though Quimby and Evans were undoubtedly the originators of the mind cure movement, New Thought does not derive its strength from them, but is mainly formidable as a schism to which disillusioned Christian Scientists turn for refuge. However that may be, Father Bellwald has given us a very thorough, temperate and discerning exposure of Mrs. Eddy's system, brought down to date. With regard to the facts of the foundress's discreditable history, he is, of course, under great obligations to Georgine Milmine's *Life of Mary Baker G. Eddy*, but this indebtedness is fully acknowledged in the footnotes which conscientiously indicate the source of all his statements. We are also thoroughly in sympathy

with the very cautious tone he has adopted in dealing with the limitations of psycho-therapy. No one who has studied the astounding facts recorded in such a work as Dr. A. F. Hurst's Croonian Lectures for 1920 on *The Psychology of the Special Senses*, which might well have been added to the very useful bibliography provided, will wish to dogmatise hastily in these matters. Taking it all in all, Father Bellwald's volume may be described as by far the best work now available to put into the hands of those who seriously desire to acquaint themselves with the facts of the Christian Science movement and its more recent developments.

Herbert Thurston.

PRAXIS THEOLOGIAE MYSTICAE. Auctore P. Michaele Godinez, S.J. Paris : Lethielleux. 1921. 7 frs.

MICHEL MOLINOS. Par le Père Paul Dudon, S.J. Paris : Beauchesne. 1921. 20 frs.

Lethielleux has rendered a very considerable service to students of mysticism by republishing the Latin version of Godinez's celebrated work. The *Practica de la teologia mistica* was published at Puebla de los Angelos in 1681, almost forty years after Godinez's death. It had many editions and many translations ; but all are very scarce now, so the present reprint is particularly welcome. In itself this brief treatise of mystical theology is interesting ; for it is the work not merely of a theologian but of a director of rare experience and one, too, who himself enjoyed remarkable favours of the mystical order. There is a delightful personal touch throughout the work ; the reader feels that the author's knowledge of his subject is the fruit both of experience and reflection.

For Irish Catholics this little book has a very special interest, for Godinez is merely a Spanish translation of Wadding. In the seventeenth century Waterford contributed no less than five Waddings, who wrote their names large in Catholic history ; one was the famous Franciscan, Luke Wadding, and the other four were Jesuits, Possibly Michael Wadding, or Miguel Godinez, was the most remarkable figure of the five ; for he was a missionary, a theologian and a mystic, linking the days and works of Columban and Gall with present activities of Irish missionaries. He is in the sacred line of the Irish apostolate to the heathen. Father Power, in his *Waterford Saints and Scholars* (*17th Century*), gives a very interesting account of his life, to which we would refer the reader.

As a mystical theologian Godinez is remarkable for the distinction he drew between the Seraphic and Cherubic modes of contemplation—in other words, for his insistance on the volitional

element or factor in mystical experience. This distinction was taken up by Reguera, to whom we owe the present Latin version and who expanded Godinez's modest volume into two enormous folios. A little later Schram condensed Reguera's folios into octavos, but neither of them seems to have very much improved on the original, which is at best a difficult book. Godinez has endeavoured to blend dogmatic theology, descriptive mystical theology and sacred eloquence in one whole ; to analyse, to theorise and to edify at one and the same time. The modern student of religious psychology has to dig out the descriptive gems from their matrix of rhetoric and rather antiquated speculation. But the labour is well worth while ; for Godinez has many acute observations, which are novel because they have been forgotten.

It is also interesting to note that Godinez, in his description of the Illuminati given in Book IX., chap. vi., seems to anticipate the movement that was condemned forty years after his death, the Quietism of Miguel Molinos. Readers of *John Inglesant* will recall Shorthouse's dramatic description of the condemnation of this Spanish priest, sedulously represented as a martyr to Jesuit spite. Quite a legend has grown round Molinos, and we owe a debt of gratitude to Père Dudon for dissipating it. It was no easy task to write the history of Molinos and Molinosism in such a way as to satisfy the exigencies of modern students of history without access to the archives of the Roman Inquisition. In 1912, and again in 1918, Père Dudon sought in vain permission to consult the records of Molinos's process before the Holy Office. Despite this handicap, he has managed to assemble a formidable and conclusive array of documents, including a MS. summary of the process itself which he discovered in one of the Italian libraries. These documents destroy the legend so dear to Protestant writers, that Molinos was a virtuous priest, unjustly condemned and foully calumniated. The book is a model of historical research, clearly written and abundantly documented.

JOHN HOWLEY.

THEOLOGIAE MORALIS PRINCIPIA—RESPONSA—CONSILIA. Auctore A. Vermeersch, S.J. Tomus I. Theologia Fundamentalis. Bruges : C. Beyaert. 1922. 14 fr. 50.

THIS is the first of a series of four volumes on Moral Theology. The fourth, a special treatise, *De Castitate et vitiis oppositis*, has already appeared, and we are promised a second *De Officiis Virtutum*, and a third styled *Canonico-liturgicus et Moralis, De Praeceptis Ecclesiae*. An introduction to the present volume includes articles on the definition, the scope, the sources and the method of Moral

Theology, followed by a survey of its history from the Apostolic age to modern times. This historical sketch is greatly enhanced by a rich bibliography and by a final chapter dealing with the main characteristics of each epoch.

Father Vermeersch concludes his historical account by indicating what is expected of a modern writer on Moral Theology, and reduces the "postulata" to three. There should be an effort to give a complete investigation on rational lines of all questions falling within the scope of human reason, with a view to making clear the intrinsic basis of the conclusions advanced by the writer. Secondly, the positive side of Christian life, consisting in the practice of virtue and the effort to realise the sublime ideals of the Gospel, should find more room than heretofore in the moralist's pages. Finally, his ambition should be to imitate his distinguished predecessors in framing his theology so as to meet the problems of the day rather than to transcribe their work, which was written for other needs and other times. Hence psychological, political and social questions should be faced with competent knowledge and complete frankness (p. 37).

The word "Consilia" in the title of the volume indicates that the second postulate has been kept well in view, and the result is that much practical help on ascetical principles and practice is here at the disposal of student, confessor and director. It may be taken for granted that Fr. Vermeersch's work, inasmuch as it covers the usual ground—*De Actibus Humanis, De Legibus, De Conscientia, De Peccatis, De Subsidiis humanae libertatis*—is clear and thorough. His own third postulate is fully satisfied, and the reader will be struck throughout at the interesting and happy applications of well-known principles to psychological and social problems of the day. The treatise *De Legibus* is of special interest. It seems a pity that the very illuminating disquisition on Penal Laws (pp. 147, 148) has not been pushed a little further; we are of opinion that the question of the obligation of Civil Law (pp. 215-216) suffers in consequence. The Suaresian manner of conceiving a penal law as a matter of alternatives—the lawgiver being equally content with the fulfilment of his order or the payment of the penalty—is dismissed; Bouquillon's opinion that laws purely penal are only possible when the burden imposed in case of non-compliance is adapted to gain the end proposed by the law or in some way to compensate for this defect, likewise meets with disapproval. Father Vermeersch adopts the opinion that the legislator wishes obedience to his law, but only imposes moral obligation with regard to the penalty. The whole question needs more investigation.

When we turn to the subject of the obligation of Civil Law, we find a certain hesitancy in some of the "breves conclusiones." It is clearly pointed out that the concept of Penal Law has been unduly enlarged; but at the same time Father Vermeersch does not give us much guidance for forming an opinion of practical value. The question of the intention of the legislator to bind in conscience needs clear statement. It is not helpful to be told that a pagan lawgiver can bind in conscience. We must decide whether the intention to impose a serious obligation, limited as that intention may be by ignorance of God or by confused notions of the moral order, is to be presumed absent whenever a penalty is attached to the violation of a law. A mere affirmation is not sufficient—Suarez and Bouquillon, with their theory of the connection between law and obligation, can speak with clarity and have both the merit of strict consistency between principle and conclusion. It would be interesting to explore how far the whole concept of penal law has been evolved or vitiated by theologians who preferred to call laws penal rather than unjust in an age when the public treasury was the king's purse, when the nobility were exempt from taxation, and the "bonum commune" was in the main the upkeep of a licentious monarch and his court. Rightly, of course, there is no place for such a discussion in this volume; but we do think that the whole question of the obligation of Civil Law needs ampler and firmer treatment.

This, however, though a point of capital importance, forms a very small part of a volume at once interesting, solid and thorough. Indeed this singular power of investing well-worn themes with living interest is a remarkable feature of Father Vermeersch's work. A special tribute is due to the felicity with which the recapitulations following each chapter have been framed. They are so many little masterpieces of methodical precision. J. O.

LA THEOLOGIE DE SAINT CYPRIEN. Par A. d'Alès. Paris: Beauchesne. 1922. Pp. xiv.+432. 24 fr.

St. Cyprian, the martyr Bishop of Carthage, born at the beginning of the third century, looms larger to-day in the twentieth than ever before. A perennial subject of interest for the critic as for the devout student of the early Christian spirit, he owes his place in the thought and sympathy of every age more perhaps by reason of the sturdy spirituality of his life and the human pathos of his death than to the part he played in the development of Catholic Theology. Called shortly after his conversion from paganism to rule the Church of Carthage, he escaped martyrdom under Decius, being thus providentially spared to confirm the whole Church of Africa during a

serious crisis in the faith. After a ten years' episcopate, during which he wrote most of the works preserved to us, he sealed his faith by martyrdom, thus atoning for faults of character and temperament displayed in his quarrel with Rome on the question of the baptism of heretics: "tamquam sarmentum fructuosissimum, si quid in eo fuerat emendandum, purgavit Pater falce passionis," as St. Augustine writes so exquisitely of him (Ep. xciii. 10, 40).

Father d'Alès, in his *La Théologie de Saint Cyprien*, does full justice to his subject, completely mastering as he does the thought of the great African and setting it before the reader within the compass of a single volume. He divides his work into four books, in the first three of which he gives a full *exposé* of Cyprian's thought on the fundamental truths of Catholic dogma, especially of his Christology and doctrine of grace, his Ecclesiology and Sacramental system. In the fourth book he treats of Cyprian's attitude to the pagan world and to the *Lapsi* in the Decian persecution, and his solution of the various problems of moral and pastoral Theology which confronted him.

Though not an original thinker like St. Augustine, and not formulating Church dogma in a developed and harmonious synthesis—his life was too short and crowded for that—Cyprian yet exercised a profound influence on the Theology of the West (a subject which Fr. d'Alès hints at treating in a further volume, p. xii.). Apart from his contribution to Church legislation and to the doctrine of Church unity and the primacy of Peter (*cf.* d'Alès' excursus on the celebrated words "Ecclesia principalis," where he decides against Batiffol's latest view in *Le Catholicisme de Saint Augustin*), we find in embryo the doctrine of grace later developed by his great countryman, who defends him in regard to freewill against Pelagius' attacks. So, too, on the Sacraments, and especially on the question of the Eucharistic sacrifice his doctrine marks definite progress. His mention of the *Preface* and *Sursum Corda* is eloquent testimony for the antiquity of the liturgy of the Mass, though we have evidence for the same in Hippolytus' Ἀποστολικὴ Παράδοσις a half-century earlier.

Fr. d'Alès' chapters entitled *L'Eglise* are by far the most important in the volume. Though, perhaps, the last word has not been said on Cyprian's attitude to the Roman See, yet the chapters dealing with this subject (pp. 91-224) are eminently satisfactory. His analysis of the *de Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate*, where Cyprian's real mind and theoretical principles are laid down, is masterly, and his whole criticism of Koch's conclusions—purely Episcopalian in tendency, like those of most English writers too on the subject—

is very objective and convincing. His work in this connection, when set in relief against the Procrustean methods of a Sabatier, a Koch, a Benson, bears the stamp of the highest critical ability.

A propos of p. 201, n.2, where the early meaning of πάπας is discussed, we may refer to the use of the term in reference to a *village priest*, Caor of Hermupolis, in the correspondence of Abinnaeus from the London Papyri collection (Lond. II., 407). J. J. C.

Shorter Notices

HISTORIA DE LA LITERATURA ESPANOLA. By Juan Hurtado y J. de la Serna, Professor in the University of Madrid, and Angel Gonzalez Palencia, Assistant in the University. Madrid, Part First, 1921, Price 8 pesetas; Part Second, 1922, Price 9 pesetas.

THE two parts already published of this new history of Spanish literature bring the subject down to the end of the eighteenth century. The extraordinarily rich production of the classical period naturally gets most space: but before we reach Castilian literature proper, which begins late, we get much interesting information about early Latin literature in Spain, pagan and Christian, and lengthy accounts of the brilliant Jewish and Arabic production from the ninth to the thirteenth century. There is also a chapter of Catalan writers. The book is thus an important repertory of names and facts. It sets forth disputed opinions. It contains detailed biographical notices, short literary criticisms, and summaries of the principal works referred to. Clearness of exposition is helped by tabular introductions to each period and a chronology of contemporary historical events. When tables of contents and indexes—which will no doubt be forthcoming in the complete work—have been provided, it will be a most useful book of reference.

M. R.

OLD WINE AND NEW. THE AGE OF WHITEWASH. By Conall Cearnach. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1921-1922. 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

IRISH writers, as has frequently been pointed out, delight in the writing of Essays. This particular form of literary activity seems to make a special appeal to our genius, and a steady supply therefore comes from the hands of the publishers. Whether they are all read I cannot say, but I hope that those now presented to the public by Conall Cearnach under the attractive titles set forth above will secure the attention they deserve. Brevity and crispness of style are among their outstanding characteristics, and with these qualities goes a candid common sense that is refreshing in this Age of Eyewash. There is no striving after a cultivated cleverness. The Essayist has views on quite a variety of subjects, and these views he sets before his readers quietly, not insistently, yet with a very obvious conviction that they are right. He employs no tricks.

Conall Cearnach's range is wide. He writes with equal grace and facility on such far-apart topics as "The Prohibition Problem" and "The Revival of Hebrew," or "The Empress Eugenie" and "The Psychology of the 'General'" Of course, it is not to be expected that all these essays are of equal merit or equal interest; as to the latter, all depends on the bent of the reader. It is not necessary, either, to agree with what he says in order to enjoy his way of saying it. Humour rather than wit is one of his qualities, and a very pleasing variety of humour it is. "The Holiday Aftermath" and "The Psychology of the 'General,'" already mentioned, are good specimens of his powers in this direction.

These two little books (admirably turned out, by the way, by Messrs. Gill) are full of delightful matter and deserve a wide publicity.

W. D.

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